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D. R. Shackleton Bailey
Editor

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CONVENTION AND INDIVIDUALITY IN *ILIAD* 1

MARK W. EDWARDS

RECENT investigations into the effects on Homeric poetry of the techniques of oral composition have been accompanied by calls for a poetics of oral poetry, for some new kind of critical approach necessitated by the powerful effects of tradition and the resulting problems in identifying the poet's individual contribution.¹ The approach must obviously be made with an understanding of the traditional patterns of language, scene composition, and plot structure. Our knowledge of these patterns is rapidly increasing, but much remains to be done in applying it to appreciation of the poems.

The main structure of plot in the epic is given substance and life by a number of techniques of expansion. Primary among these is the use of direct speech of the characters, expanded by various methods, one of the most important of which is the insertion of "hortatory" and "apologetic" paradeigmata.² In the narrative parts the story is carried forward almost entirely by a succession of type-scenes, with only occasional use of short passages of description, similes, or apostrophe by the poet.³ The major means of giving dignity, color, and emotional impact to the narrative is by controlled elaboration of details of the type-scenes, by skillful selection of the amount of elaboration in a particular instance and of its nature and relevance to the situation. Fortunately the substantial size and fairly homogeneous nature of the Homeric corpus usually allow comparison of a particular instance of a type-scene with a number of other instances, so that it is simple to

¹ See most recently G. S. Kirk, *Homer and the Oral Tradition* (Cambridge 1976) 69-85, 201-217. The question is summed up by J. B. Hainsworth, "The Criticism of an Oral Homer," *JHS* 90 (1970) 90-98.

² On the reasons for the use of these paradeigmata see especially Norman Austin, "The Function of Digressions in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 295-312 (now in *Essays on the Iliad*, ed. John Wright [Bloomington 1978] 70-84).

³ I am not attempting to distinguish between type-scenes which have a high proportion of repeated verses and those which have the same basic pattern but little or no verbal similarity. J. A. Russo set up four categories (*Arion* 7 [1968] 281-294); see also T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958) 240-241. On the use of description see most recently T. M. Andersson, *Early Epic Scenery* (Ithaca 1976) 15-52.

identify special features and suggest reasons for their inclusion. Just as in the case of formulae, though it is not possible to any substantial extent to compare Homer with his contemporaries and predecessors, it is fairly satisfactory to compare him with himself.⁴

The elaboration is not added automatically or mechanically. A common scene such as the arming of a hero may range from half a verse (*Il.* 9.596b) to many pages (if the decorating of Achilles' armor is included), and even in such a ritualized procedure as that of sacrifice, where many verses are repeated verbatim, there are nevertheless no identical descriptions of the whole type-scene. This variety contrasts sharply with the poet's habit of repeating passages of considerable length without change when a message is entrusted to a messenger and later delivered by him.

Even more important and interesting than the amount of elaboration used is its nature. Whitman pointed out that the preparations for Achilles' libation and prayer to Zeus before Patroclus' departure for battle (*Il.* 16.220-229) are described in minute detail, as this is "an extremely solemn and critical moment in the plot."⁵ One might further stress that Achilles' prayer, though fairly long, is quite formal and has none of the personal emotional appeal found in Andromache's cry to Hector (*Il.* 6.429-432) and in Evander's speech in Virgil's adaptation of the scene (*Aen.* 8.560-583). Probably the convention of the prayer type-scene was against a passionate outburst by the hero here, and certainly the use of a physical action as a means of expressing and conveying emotion is characteristically Homeric; but one may suspect that the decision to involve the audience by having them watch (for ten verses) the silent, anxious Achilles sedulously unwrapping and cleansing the special chalice, rather than by having him put his love for Patroclus into words, is the result of superb artistic insight on the part of the poet.

Sometimes the regular kind of elaboration for a common scene is shunned, and the scene is treated with an imagination which seems akin to that seen in the endlessly different similes. The varied and effective amount of elaboration of the standard elements of donning armor in the arming scenes of Paris, Agamemnon, Patroclus, and

⁴ Cf. M. W. Edwards, *AJP* 89 (1968) 282-283. An excellent attempt to compare the Homeric with the cyclic epics has been made by J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977) 39-53, but little has yet been done to compare the type-scenes in Homer with those of Hesiod or the Hymns.

⁵ C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Harvard 1958) 250.

Achilles is too well known to need description, and it is also frequently observed that the details are suitably modified for the arming of the night expedition of Odysseus and Diomedes in *Iliad* 10. Less often noticed are the occasions when these formal elements are abandoned entirely and the emphasis is achieved by elaboration of a different type. Before his duel with Hector, Ajax arms himself in half a line (*Il.* 7.206b) but is then dignified by nearly twenty verses of simile, spectator reaction, and description of his great shield. Hector, who in spite of his status is never given a standard arming scene, also puts on in half a verse the armor which Patroclus wore to battle (*Il.* 17.194b), and there then follows the ill-omened history of the armor and the dire forebodings of Zeus. The major weight of the emphasis on Sarpedon in *Iliad* 12 is carried by his famous colloquy with Glaucus, but the description of his shield which immediately precedes (294-297) suggests that the whole might be considered a surrogate arming scene.

In the following pages each scene in the first book of the *Iliad* will be considered as an example of a type-scene, whose standard elements will be identified (if this has not already been done in detail by others). The individual features of the scene will be examined and compared with those found in other instances of the same type-scene, in order to show alternative presentations of the scene which the poet adopted in other circumstances but did not choose to avail himself of here; in observing this choice one may hope to see the genius of the individual poet at work. Finally, suggestions will be made — necessarily subjective — about the reasons for the amount and nature of the elaboration. *Iliad* 1 has been chosen partly because of its interesting content (especially the proem and the voyage to Chryse) and partly because the existence of an excellent study of its formulae by P. Chantraine made a preliminary investigation of that aspect unnecessary.⁶

⁶ "Remarques sur l'emploi des formules dans le premier chant de l'Illiade," *REG* 45 (1932) 121-154. A fairly full bibliography of work on type-scenes is given in M. W. Edwards, "Type-scenes and Homeric Hospitality," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 51-53. More emphasis should have been given to the work of G. M. Calhoun, whose article "Homeric Repetitions" (*UCPCP* 12.1 [Berkeley 1933]) appeared in the same year as Walter Arend's seminal book *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (*Problemata* 7, Berlin 1933) and identified many type-scenes and the importance of their elaboration. As usual the importance of this approach was seen by Milman Parry (*The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. Adam Parry [Oxford 1971] 446, 452-454, 456-457, 461) and carried further by A. B. Lord (*The Singer of Tales* [Cambridge, Mass. 1960] esp. 68-98; "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 82 [1951] 71-80). The most important recent advances have been made by B. Fenik (*Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad and Studies in the Odyssey* [*Hermes Einzelschr.* 21 and 30], Wiesbaden 1968 and

THE PROEM (1-12a)

Even within the small compass of the proem it can be seen (but has not previously been pointed out) how some of the many standard motifs used are picked out for elaboration and others, which are elsewhere expanded, are here given in summary form. (I use "motif" for a recurrent idea which seems not to be analyzable into component parts as a type-scene is.) In the first verse, as in the *Odyssey*, the long hymns to Aphrodite and Hermes, the *Thebaid*, and the *Epigoni*, the Muse is summoned to tell of a specified topic, which is then amplified in the usual paratactic or cumulative style.⁷ The invocation of the Muse is very brief (there is a much more elaborate form at *Il.* 2.484-494), but the topic, the *mênis*, is expanded into three and a half verses by addition of the standard motifs of sending souls to Hades and giving men's bodies to dogs. Both these motifs occur elsewhere, but they are found together only here, and they swiftly and effectively set the tone of suffering and death (not glory) which will pervade the whole epic.⁸

Very brief again are the two following motifs: first "the will of Zeus was done," which is found in expanded form in the proem of the *Works and Days* (5-8), in *Il.* 16.688-690 = 17.176-178, and of course in scenes of actual decision making such as 1.511-530; and the "what part of the tale will you choose?" motif, here in two simple (if impressive) lines (6-7) but given more color by a second appeal to the Muse in the corresponding place in the *Odyssey* (1.10) and expanded elsewhere in that poem.⁹ The final question to the Muse, "who did it?",

1974) and M. N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley 1974). There are good remarks on the type-scenes in *Iliad* 1 in E. A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) 72-84. On arming scenes, besides Arend's chapter and the well-known article by J. I. Armstrong (*AJP* 79 [1958] 337-354) see also P. J. Kakridis, "Achilleus' Rüstung," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 288-297. The technique of expansion in catalogues and androktasiae is well brought out in C. R. Beye's article in *HSCP* 68 (1964) 345-373.

⁷ See Kirk (above, n. 1) 78-81; M. W. Edwards, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 137-148; M. Parry (last note) 255-256, 308.

⁸ Excellent studies of the invocations of the Muse in Homer and Hesiod are given by W. W. Minton in *TAPA* 91 (1960) 292-309 and 93 (1962) 188-212. The *mênis* itself is a common plot structure; see M. M. Willcock, *CQ* 14 (1964) 152 n.6. The "sending souls to Hades" motif recurs at *Il.* 5.190, 6.487, and 11.55. For the "giving bodies to the dogs" motif see J. Griffin in *CQ* 26 (1976) 169-173 (some 12 examples). J. Redfield's article on the proem (*CP* 74 [1979] 95-110) appeared too late to be of use in the present study.

⁹ H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (trans. Hadas and Willis, New York 1973) 14 n.15 parallels *Od.* 4.240-243, 7.241-243, 19.165-171.

which is a standard part of an invocation (cf. *Il.* 2.487, 11.219, 14.509, 16.113), is expanded by means of "epic regression";¹⁰ after Apollo's name is given the poet anticipates his anger and the plague (just as he has already anticipated Achilles' anger) and then moves backward in time to Agamemnon's insult to Chryses and further to the time of the latter's arrival at the ships, at which point the forward movement of the plot begins.¹¹ This technique, which eases the burden on the hearer and increases his anticipation by giving him an outline of the plot before the narrative begins, is also found in a number of the digressions in the *Iliad* (Phoenix's autobiography [9.447 f], the Meleager tale [9.529 f], the Niobe story [24.602 f]) but is not used in the *Odyssey* poem.

The poem is thus made very short (especially by comparison with that of the *Theogony*) by the use of unusual brevity for a number of the motifs. The two which are elaborated to some degree, the *mênis* and "who did it?" motifs, are used to stress the theme of suffering and death, rather than, for instance, the justice of Zeus, and to prepare the listener for the first episode of the story.

SUPPLICATION SCENE (12b-33)

Scenes of supplication may be divided into four elements: the approach of the suppliant to the *supplicandus*;¹² a gesture of supplication; the speech of the suppliant, including a vocative, a specific request, and an offer; and the response of the *supplicandus*. The pattern can be seen in simple form in three successive examples in *Odyssey* 22 (310-329, 330-360, 365-377).

The approach of the suppliant is elaborated not by background material about the capture of his daughter and her presentation to

¹⁰ See most recently T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (Munich 1971) 136-140.

¹¹ Most editors place a paragraph division between lines 7 and 8, perhaps encouraged by the postponement of the subject of the sentence to 7 and the combination of the two heroes' names in the line. But exactly the same construction of sentence and verse (with similar bridging of the mid-verse caesura) is found at *Il.* 19.47-48 and 20.158-160 with no paragraph break following. (The same verse structure also appears at *Il.* 7.168, 23.838, cf. 3.314, 8.333 = 13.422). The distinction between the introduction and the start of the narrative proper would best be made after the first word of line 12, where the narrative first begins to move forward. Van Leeuwen had the courage to mark it here. Even major changes in scene often occur at places other than the verse end.

¹² I hope the reader will forgive my use of this and a few other Latin terms, which are obvious in meaning and far handier to use than the English equivalents.

Agamemnon, which is left for a more leisured occasion (I. 366-369), but first by an anticipatory account of his purpose; he comes to ransom his daughter and he brings gifts, that is, he is behaving with due propriety on such an occasion. The gifts are, however, not enumerated, as they are, for example, in the ransoming of Hector (*Il.* 24.229-237), as this would slow down the poet's rapid movement here. He does find space for a second elaboration, again highly relevant and effective; the suppliant bears the staff and insignia of Apollo, indicating his status and the wisdom of granting the request of one who has the god behind him. The descriptive material, as often, is not merely decorative but most significant. For comparison, one may refer to the enormous expansion preceding the supplication of Priam to Achilles in *Iliad* 24.142-476 (the message from Zeus, preparation of ransom, discussion with Hecuba, harnessing of wagon and chariot, prayer to Zeus, omen, meeting with Hermes, arrival in Achilles' shelter); or the Lycaon-Achilles scene, where the suppliant's approach (*Il.* 21.64-70) is preceded by an account of his history and of Achilles' amazement at seeing him again, and further amplified by his dodging under the hero's uplifted spear. Occasionally the element is omitted entirely, as in Scamander's panic-stricken appeal to Hera (*Il.* 21.367-368).

The approach is usually followed by a gesture from the suppliant as he touches the knees or chin of the *supplicandus*. In the Priam-Achilles scene the old king not only clutches Achilles' knees but kisses his hands (*Il.* 24.478), the exceptional gesture being further emphasized by the following verse, "those dreadful, man-slaughtering hands, which had killed many of his sons," and a simile continues the effect of the tableau. In the Lycaon scene there is a different touch; Lycaon grasps Achilles' knees with one hand and with the other desperately clutches at the spear poised above him (*Il.* 21.71-72). Aphrodite begging Ares for the loan of his horses does not go so far as to touch his knees but kneels before him (*Il.* 5.357), and the suppliant Hera contents herself with clinging to the hand of Sleep (*Il.* 14.232). Dolon's first appeal to the two Greeks is accompanied only by his tears (*Il.* 10.377), and the element is held back for use in his last vain supplication (454-455). It is omitted entirely in *Iliad* 11.130, where the suppliant is standing in a chariot and it is impracticable, and its omission receives amusing emphasis when Odysseus deliberates whether to drop his modest branch in order to clasp the knees of Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.141 f). In the present instance it is also omitted, either for rapidity or because it is unfitting for a priest in full regalia; or better perhaps because in its place stand a few words indicating that the scene is a public assembly

(15). No other supplication scene takes place in such circumstances, and it is clear that the poet chooses to handle it in this way to depict as early as possible the contrast between Agamemnon's sentiments and those of the rest of the Greeks.

"Homer, with little prelude, leaves the stage to his men and women, all with characters of their own,"¹³ but the following speeches of suppliant and *supplicandus* are so well prepared for by the speech introductions that when Achilles recounts the events to his mother later on he can without obscurity omit the direct speech and leave the other verses unchanged (12 \simeq 371, 13-16 = 372-375, 22-25 = 376-379). The suppliant's speech contains, after the usual vocative, a wish for success and safe homecoming (18-19) before the request and offer (20); a similar wish follows the request in Priam's second supplication to Achilles (*Il.* 24.556-557). In the latter instance it contains irony on the poet's part; here perhaps it veils a hint of trouble if the offer is not accepted. In some supplication scenes the offer is omitted if inappropriate, as in Odysseus's appeals to Arete (*Od.* 7.142 f) and Circe (10.481 f), and in the very odd scene where Nestor supplicates the whole army (*Il.* 15.660 f).

The response of the *supplicandus* is preceded by the reaction of the other Greeks (22-23), enabling the poet to condemn Agamemnon's conduct even more by means of the familiar "all the others . . . but not . . ." motif. The army's sentiments are expressed briefly and explicitly; much more elaborate versions of their feelings in other circumstances can be found in several places in the more leisurely *Iliad* 2 (142-149, 270-277, 333-335, 394-397). Agamemnon's reply incorporates in a few verses a large number of brutal aspects; Bassett has put it most strongly: "The 'good' man reveals the following qualities: (1) lack of *aidós*, both for age and for the sacred fillets of Apollo; (2) utter repudiation of the unanimous will of the assembly (22-23); (3) lack of royal dignity, and needless discourtesy to an humble suppliant who has been courteous and gentle (26-28, 32, 18 f); (4) disregard of the interests of the army and the expedition in ignoring the harm that a grossly insulted Olympian might do (28), and (5) . . . in saying that

¹³ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460a9, quoted by E. T. Owen, *The Story of the Iliad* (Toronto 1946) 4. Calhoun (above, n.6) 20 n.61 sees effect in the abrupt interruption of the verbatim repetition at 379, but this seems to me to go too far. G. Highet, "Speech and Narrative in the *Aeneid*," *HSCP* 78 (1974) 216-217 comments briefly on some Homeric examples; a full treatment of speech introductions in Homer is given in M. W. Edwards' article in *HSCP* 74 (1970) 1-36.

Chryseis will share his couch *in Argos* he gives Clytemnestra some justification for her own infidelity."¹⁴

In this brief scene the poet has thus expanded the approach element with very relevant elaboration; omitted the gesture, replacing it by the much more important participation of the whole army; and reinforced the words of each speaker by an anticipatory introduction. In Agamemnon's few words he not only sets himself against the will of the army but also characterizes himself in most vivid fashion.

PRAYER SCENE (34-43)

Prayer scenes have been analyzed by L. C. Muellner¹⁵ into three elements, which are (in brief): the invocation of the deity; the claim to favor on the basis of favors in past or future; and a specific request for favor in return, with implied or explicit reference to the deity's sphere of action. A final element may be added, the deity's response¹⁶ and two elements preceding Muellner's: the setting of the scene and a gesture of the *precator*. A simple form of the type-scene may be seen at *Il.* 15.370-378 (Nestor's prayer to Zeus).

In the present instance, the first element (the setting) is lightly but effectively expanded by the mention of the seashore, an indication of course not of topographical precision but of the connotations of desolation and misery which the motif usually carries.¹⁷ The gesture is omitted, perhaps because the poet is still moving the action swiftly — Muellner comments on the "fierce conciseness" of the priest's prayer. The invocation is not a standard list of titles (as in Achilles' prayer to Zeus, *Il.* 16.233-235) but is used specifically to characterize the local priest of the regional Apollo. The claim to favor and the request are simple, and the god indicates his favorable response by immediately coming down to earth.¹⁸

¹⁴ *TAPA* 65 (1934) 48-49. His last point is overstated, but cf. Laertes' respect for his wife's feelings about a concubine (*Od.* 1.430-433). See also Griffin (above, n. 8) 164 and J. T. Kakridis, *Homer Revisited* (Lund 1971) 130-131.

¹⁵ *The Meaning of Homeric EUXOMAI through Its Formulas* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 13 [Innsbruck 1976]) 27-28.

¹⁶ Muellner (last note) 18.

¹⁷ Cf., for example, *Il.* 1.327, 350, 23.59, 24.12, *Od.* 2.260, 13.220. Is it fanciful to see a similar pathetic fallacy in the long list of significant Nereid names at *Il.* 18.39-48?

¹⁸ I am grateful to the anonymous reader for pointing out the significance of the titles in the invocation. Muellner (above, n.15) 22 suggests that the phrase used in line 43, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε . . . in itself implies only that the deity heard, not necessarily that he assented.

In other examples of this type-scene the preparations are sometimes much elaborated, as in Achilles' prayer to Zeus at Patroclus' departure, in Hecuba's to Athena (*Il.* 6.269–311, including the brilliant symbol of the ill-omened robe which Paris brought back together with Helen), and in Priam's prayer to Zeus (*Il.* 24.283–307). The gesture of raising the arms is often mentioned, usually in the phrase *χεῖρας ἀνασχών*;¹⁹ if appropriate, they may be stretched out toward the sea (Achilles to Thetis, *Il.* 1.351; Polyphemus to Poseidon, *Od.* 9.527). The claim to favor is often amplified by adding a further element, the promise of hecatombs after the request has been granted (*Il.* 10.292, etc.).

The present scene is thus simple and unadorned, except for the gray coloring of loss conveyed by the sea. This suffering, and his power to call down the god, are the only characteristics the poet need give to Chryses; more would only detract from more important characters and issues.

DIVINE VISITATION (44–53)

The intervention of a deity in human affairs is often preceded by a description of the journey from Olympus to earth; the numerous examples are collected by Calhoun²⁰ and show a good deal of range in extent of elaboration. An expanded example may be seen in the visit of Hermes to Calypso (*Od.* 5.28–75), the elements of which consist of dispatch by another deity, preparations for the journey (donning of sandals, or sometimes the harnessing of a chariot [*Il.* 5.711 f, etc.]), description of the route, a simile (here stressing speed and distance, but often menace), and the arrival beside the person sought.²¹

¹⁹ This phrase is restricted to prayers, with the exception of the preliminaries to the Odysseus-Irus fight in *Od.* 18.89; so too are the forms of *χεῖρας ἀείραι*. In suppliant scenes *χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς* (and other forms) is used (*Il.* 22.37, 24.506, *Od.* 12.257, 17.366), as it is when the gesture is toward the sea (and exceptionally at *Il.* 15.371). The forms of *χεῖρε πετάσσας* seem to have no association with supplication or prayer.

²⁰ Above, n.6, 15 n.46.

²¹ The variety and pertinence of the similes in divine journeys have been studied by Krischer (above, n.10) 19–23; see also W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (*Mnemosyne Supp.* 28, Leiden 1974) 15–20. Of special interest are: Thetis' journey in *Il.* 18.615–19.3, which is interrupted for the arrival of dawn (and the start of a new book?); Poseidon's highly elaborated journey in *Il.* 13.17–38, which is followed by a very short form in 44; and the places where Iris descends without mention of her dispatcher or the message she has been given (*Il.* 2.786 f, 3.121 f, 23.197 f).

The descent of Apollo here is based on the usual elements but has several distinctive features. The introductory verse (44) is modeled on the standard verse $\beta\eta\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau'\text{ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀΐξασα}$, which occurs five times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*. But the last section of this verse, the participle after the C caesura, cannot simply be changed to the masculine form for a male deity. The poet could have avoided the difficulty by using a different standard verse, concluding with a simile, as for Apollo's descent in *Il.* 15.237 $\beta\eta\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau'\text{ Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἱρηκι εἰκώς}$, or by introducing a short simile at the end of the present verse, such as $\eta\upsilon\tau'\text{ ὀμίχλη}$ or $\nuυκτὶ\text{ εἰκώς}$. Instead, he substitutes the phrase $\chiωόμενος\text{ κῆρ}$, conveying the god's furious reaction and foreshadowing the trouble to come. Then in place of the preparations for the journey there follows a description of the god's appearance and the sinister clatter of his characteristic bow and arrows as he moves. The description suggests the picture of a hunter on the mountains, but it is more than decoration and anthropomorphism; it is a frightening foreshadowing of the god's power and his menacing intentions against the Greeks. The technique is not unlike that in which the line between a metamorphosis of a deity and a simile describing a deity is not clearly drawn, the best example of which is the "meteoric" flight of Athena in *Il.* 4.75–85, which actually terrifies the beholders as a "real" meteor would do.²² At last there comes the simile, $\nuυκτὶ\text{ εἰκώς}$, effectively vague in meaning but clearly conveying speed, suddenness, silence, and danger, and now sharply differentiating the god from any mere human hunter.²³ The final arrival element takes the form of the description of his action, like a hunter again, as he crouches and looses his arrows from the twanging silver bow, in a line (49) which again suggests both sound and sight.

At the end of the scene there is a further touch of description. If this passage is compared with Achilles' account of the events to his mother later on, one notices that he tells of the priest's supplication in words identical with those previously used (omitting the direct speech) and

²² Also effectively ambiguous are the cases of Thetis rising from the sea like a mist (*Il.* 1.359) and Athena shimmering like the dismal portent of a rainbow (*Il.* 17.547–551, noticed by Fenik [*Battle scenes*, above, n.6] 182–183). Usually it is clear whether the deity is like a bird in speed (*Il.* 15.237–238) or has taken the form of a bird (*Od.* 5.337, 353, 3.372, 22.240), but *Il.* 13.62–72 and *Od.* 1.320 are ambiguous.

²³ This simile is also used for the terrible shade of Heracles (also an archer) at *Od.* 11.606, and for the terrifying impact of Hector as he bursts through the gates of the Greek wall (*Il.* 12.463). Night is often sinister and destructive (*Il.* 16.567).

goes on to describe Apollo's launching of the arrows and their deadly effect in straightforward terms:

ἦκε δ' ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος· οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ
 θνήσκον ἐπασσύτεροι, τὰ δ' ἐπώχετο κῆλα θεοῖο
 πάντῃ ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν

(382-384).

But here the poet passes over the immediate effect of the arrows and composes a magnificent line which first imitates the sound of the shot and then describes the wide panorama of pyres burning day after day over the plain:

βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμνισαί
 (52).²⁴

After this *tour de force* the return of the deity to Olympus, usually found at the end of this type-scene, is naturally omitted.

The whole passage has thus avoided purely decorative ideas such as the donning of sandals and has also bypassed the possibility of having Apollo interview Calchas and hear the tale of his wrongs from him before going into action. Instead, the poet has composed a short scene with powerful and imaginative effects of sight and sound, concluding with a picture as vivid as that of a good modern film.

SUMMONING AN ASSEMBLY (54-56)

The scene is linked to the preceding one by the familiar "for nine days . . . then on the tenth" motif, found five times in each poem. The examples of the summoning of an assembly have been examined by Arend and others.²⁵ Here there is little elaboration, as the poet is still moving swiftly; the two lines (55-56) are however of some significance, as they assign the initiative to Achilles, presumably to change the focus from Agamemnon to him and prepare for his leading role in the debate. They also involve the goddess Hera, who will play a large part in the rest of the epic.

The longest example of the summoning of an assembly is in *Il.* 2.50-109, which is expanded by the insertion of a meeting of the chiefs, a

²⁴ The onomatopoeic effect of βάλλ' is likely to be intentional, in view of βέλος in the previous verse and the repeated use of these syllables in the very noisy passage at *Il.* 16.102-108.

²⁵ Arend (above, n.6) 116-121; Lord, *Singer* (above, n.6) 146-147; Nagler (above, n.6) 119-130.

simile, a personification of Rumor, the activity of the heralds, and the long account of the pedigree of the speaker's staff. Of lesser extent, but offering an interesting comparison to the present instance, is the assembly summoned by Achilles in *Il.* 19.40–55, where the tense circumstances lead the poet to build up his climax with the gathering of the crews of the ships, the stewards, and the wounded chiefs, ending with Agamemnon himself. Appropriate kinds of elaboration are used for the battlefield assembly of the Trojans (*Il.* 8.489–496: topographical description and account of the spear Hector holds instead of a staff); for the assembly of Ithacans (*Od.* 2.6–24: description of Telemachus and the aged Aegyptius, who will open the debate); and for the Phaeacian assembly (*Od.* 8.4–25: Athena's participation, and description of Odysseus).

ASSEMBLY SCENE (57–305a)

As usual, the person who summons the assembly addresses it first, though there are some exceptions.²⁶ The speeches in the assembly have been intensively studied by D. Lohmann,²⁷ and most of them need not be considered here. Examples of certain type-scenes do, however, occur during the assembly and must be considered separately.

PONDERING SCENE (188–194a)

At one point in the assembly the dialogue is interrupted by action, as Achilles ponders whether to kill Agamemnon, half draws his sword, and is dissuaded by Athena. The scene follows the usual pattern of pondering scenes, which have been analyzed by Arend and others, and

²⁶ At *Il.* 2.225, 18.254, *Od.* 2.25. From the political point of view it is interesting that there is no set formula of address to the assembly. Most speakers address Agamemnon or another speaker; Chryses (1.17) addresses Atreidae and Greeks in a formula repeated only by Achilles at the funeral games (23.272 and 658, with singular Atreidê); Agamemnon himself uses another formula (2.110, 19.78), which also occurs in battle scenes. At 7.327 and 385 what seems to be an assembly is addressed by a formula designating only the chiefs (used also at 23.236); what is definitely an assembly is addressed by Agamemnon by a formula designating only the chiefs at 9.17, and it is tempting to alter the text — the following eight verses are identical with 2.111–118, and 9.17 should probably be replaced by 2.110.

²⁷ *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970); see also W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Leipzig 1938) 144–145.

as usual there are two stated alternatives of which the hero will eventually choose the second.²⁸

Here the internal dilemma of Achilles is stressed by two external descriptions; first, his heart is doing the thinking "within his hairy chest" (189);²⁹ and then his indecision is vividly externalized by his half drawing his sword, which will remain in that state, as a symbol of the dangerously poised situation, during the following conversation with Athena.³⁰ This way of visually presenting a mind torn two ways is only surpassed at the beginning of *Odyssey* 20, where the hero tosses and turns like a blood sausage on a spit.

DIVINE VISITATION (194b–222)

As usual in the *Iliad*, the hero's perplexity is dissolved by the visit of a deity (on the type-scene, see on lines 44–53 above). Achilles is drawing his sword; *ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον* would have been natural. But the crisis is acute, and Athena loses no time — not only does she dispense with sandals, similes, and so on, but she brusquely shoves aside the patient old epithet and bursts into the verse at the C caesura; and the verse actually concludes *ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη* . . . The effect on an audience must have been striking.³¹ Exactly

²⁸ Arend (above, n.6) 106–115; Russo (above, n.3) has pointed out some differences between the pondering scenes in the *Iliad* and those in the *Odyssey*. The pondering monologues studied by B. Fenik, *Homer: Tradition and Invention* (Leiden 1978) 68–90, are of a different type from the present example.

²⁹ This is the only instance of *ἦτορ* (for the usual *κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν*) in a pondering scene (Arend 111).

³⁰ F. M. Combellack (*CP* 36 [1941] 60–63) suggests that when Athena pulls his hair Achilles takes his hand off the hilt of the sword, which remains half drawn; then in 219 he places his hand on the hilt again and thrusts it back into its sheath. This seems the best interpretation. Fränkel (above, n.9) seems to suggest the whole episode is almost instantaneous ("All this takes place after Achilles has already begun to draw his sword and before he thrusts it back into its scabbard, that is to say, in a brief moment" [69]), which is hard to accept; human time stops for scenes between gods, as at *Il.* 20.291–320, but in this case a man is involved. Of course there is no problem about what the rest of the army is thinking during the exchange between the hero and the invisible goddess: "It is a regular feature of the narrative technique in the *Iliad* that when a god enters into conversation with a mortal the bystanders are forgotten" (Fenik, *Battle scenes* [above, n.6] 75; see also 37).

³¹ *ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον* is found in this position seven times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*. The epithet is dropped in the same way in *Il.* 1.220, probably under the influence of the present line (cf. the phrase clusters identified by J. B. Hainsworth, *Festschr. L. R. Palmer* [Innsbruck 1976] 83–86), and in *Il.* 11.29, where two verses of elaboration of the *ἦλοι* are substituted. M. W. Edwards

the same technique is used for Athena's appearance to Diomedes in *Il.* 10.507, where the usual verse ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν (*Il.* 1.193) is truncated by the omission of the last phrase and the insertion of τόφρα δ' Ἀθήνη...³² That this substitution of a new ending in place of a traditional epithet is intended to be artistically effective is suggested by the example at *Il.* 6.473, where the normal πουλυβοτείρη after χθονί is dropped in favor of the vivid παμφανόωσαν, which both draws attention to the bright glitter of the helmet against the ground and also beautifully reinforces and explains the fright of Hector's infant son.³³

So Athena arrives. The element of dispatch by another deity is inserted (195–196), she stands behind Achilles, and before the expected address to the person visited she takes him by the hair, an action which may have amazed Homer's audience as much as it did the hero. Nowhere else does a visiting deity take a comparable liberty in attracting a hero's attention, but Athena has no time to spare, and once again the poet uses a physical action to illustrate powerful emotion. The astonished Achilles whirls around — three finite verbs in verse 199³⁴ — and speaks to her. This again is exceptional; in the overwhelming majority of cases where a deity comes down to address a mortal the deity begins the conversation. (The only cases where this does not occur are when the deity appears in the form of a guest, who must first be greeted by the host [*Od.* 1.122, 5.86], or as a child or youth, who is naturally addressed first by the older person [*Od.* 7.21, 13.227].) His words are aggressive; characteristically, he disguises his understanding of the other's purpose, as he does with Patroclus at the beginning of *Iliad* 16, and launches his complaint against Agamemnon. Athena makes her

has collected (*TAPA* 97 [1966] 167–175, esp. 172–174) a number of examples where a regular ornamental epithet following the C caesura has been omitted in favor of beginning a new sentence.

³² It should be said that there are four other cases where this final phrase is dropped without any special effect. The whole expression κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν occurs ten times in the *Iliad* and eleven in the *Odyssey*. Russo (above, n.3) 292 drew attention to the quick appearance of Athena in *Od.* 20.30, but there the effect is less striking as it occurs at the mid-verse caesura and does not usurp the place of an expected line ending.

³³ The usual combination is found twelve times in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*. This kind of substitution is not covered in Edwards' examples (see n.31).

³⁴ *Od.* 15.222 has something of the same effect. These verses are different from those which contain three standard progressive action verbs, such as *Il.* 1.459, *Od.* 12.359 (mentioned by Muellner, [above, n.15] 32).

suggestion, Achilles assents briefly (as in his similarly reluctant response to Thetis in *Iliad* 24.139-140, and his one-line speech to Hector at 20.429), and to complete the physical illustration of his decision he thrusts his sword back into its sheath. The visitation pattern is concluded by the return of Athena to Olympus.

The scene is thus given unusual power by the physical actions which accompany it: the abrupt appearance of Athena, her action, and Achilles' own rapidity in accosting the goddess.

MEDIATION SCENE (247-304)

There is a further physical counterpart to emotional stress as Achilles disgustedly dashes to the ground the staff which represents the justice of government under Zeus (245-246; cf. 237-239); the motif is used again to demonstrate Telemachus' resentment at his powerlessness in *Od.* 2.80.³⁵ Then Nestor arises as mediator. This may be considered a type-scene — admittedly an almost inevitable one in any kind of dispute — as there are several parallels in the *Iliad*. Here Nestor addresses both parties and is answered by them in turn (in speeches containing a careful verbal parallel, 288-289 and 295-296); at the end of the book Hephaestus (573 f) addresses only Hera but indirectly urges Zeus to be gracious; at *Iliad* 24.65 f Zeus addresses only Hera but acknowledges the force of both viewpoints; and at 23.492 f Achilles gives a mild reprimand to Ajax and Idomeneus jointly. The present example is amplified by the ceremonious introduction of Nestor (247-252) and the "apologetic" paradeigma which asserts his right to speak and to be listened to (260-274).³⁶

DISMISSAL OF THE ASSEMBLY (305b-307)

S. E. Bassett examined these scenes and showed that there is no formal adjournment.³⁷ Sometimes the reaction to the last speaker is elaborated to lead into the breakup of the assembly, as at *Il.* 2.142-150 and 394-398 (with a simile in each case). Here the poet takes care to

³⁵ See F. M. Combellack, *CJ* 43 (1947-8) 209-217. I suspect that the idea of 234-237, "By this staff, which will never bear leaf again . . .," conceals the idea "only when this staff bears leaf again [will I help you again]", which is like the when-this-iron-floats practice in making treaties in ancient Greece (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 23.5, Herodotus 1.165) and may have been a standard motif.

³⁶ See n.2 above.

³⁷ "Dismissing the Assembly in Homer," *CJ* 26 (1930-31) 458-460.

mention the departure of Achilles to his shelter, as a preparation for his reception of Agamemnon's heralds; and he takes the opportunity to mention Patroclus, as he does in 345, in order to introduce him into the story at an early stage.

DEPARTURE BY SHIP (308-312)

Concurrently with the departure of Achilles and Patroclus Agamemnon dispatches a ship to return Chryseis. The scene is given a moderate amount of elaboration. It will be discussed below, together with verses 477-483.

PURIFICATION AND SACRIFICE (313-318a)

No other account of a purification of this kind survives; it may or may not have been standard. The sacrifice is told with minimal detail, because a much fuller version will be given of the sacrifice at Chryse; see below, on verses 447b-474.

MESSENGER AND GUEST SCENES (318b-348a)

The type-scene of dispatch of a messenger was included in Arend's work, so details need not be repeated here.³⁸ In this example the order to the messengers is as usual given in direct speech, perhaps with some brusqueness as the vocative is omitted.³⁹ Agamemnon's words include the threat that if the woman is not given up he will go in person to take her, which represents a slight backing down on his previous statement that he would go himself (185).⁴⁰ The poet wants to retain the possibility of a direct confrontation between him and Achilles, but of course will not bring it about as the outcome could only be anticlimactic.

The reluctant journey of the heralds is slightly elaborated by a mention of the desolate sea. They arrive as messengers, who would

³⁸ Arend (above, n.6) 54-61; see also Edwards (above, n.6) 62-67.

³⁹ This was suggested by Bassett (*AJP* 55 [1934] 145), but I am not sure I would expect the vocative when the names have already been given (320) and the narrative is moving swiftly.

⁴⁰ Both G. S. Kirk (*Songs of Homer* [Cambridge 1962] 215) and G. P. Goold (*Illinois Class. Studies* 2 [1977] 33) think the words of Achilles (*Il.* 1.356, 507, 2.240, 9.107, 273, 19.89) imply an earlier version in which Agamemnon went himself to take the woman; *contra* (among others) F. M. Combellack, *Gnomon* 28 (1956) 414 n.1. I do not see why the later references by Achilles are not sufficiently justified by Agamemnon's words at *Il.* 1.185 and 324-325.

normally enter the house, go up to the destined recipient, and deliver their message. These heralds, however, have no message to deliver, for Agamemnon did not deign to give them words to repeat to Achilles (probably a discourtesy). So they stand silent, and with this the pattern switches (as it also does in the embassy scene in *Iliad* 9) to that of the reception of a guest; for a guest normally stands in silence at the door until observed and invited to enter.⁴¹ Achilles sees them, not with surprise, as a host does (e.g., *Il.* 11.645, 777), but with displeasure (330); the type-scene element is present but changed in nature. As guests he welcomes them (“χαίρετε” [334]), gives them their titles, and invites them to approach (“ἄσσον ἴτ’” [335]). With the same courtesy, startlingly different from Agamemnon’s behavior, he hands over the woman and they depart. The change from messenger scene to guest reception intensifies the restraint and politeness of Achilles, just as in Book 9 it sharpens the difficult role of the envoys as both mouthpieces of Agamemnon and friends of Achilles.

PRAYER, DIVINE VISITATION, AND SUPPLICATION SCENES (348b–430a)

The following episode is a skillful meshing of these three type-scenes. It is expanded by means of a long recapitulation of the past and a considerable amplification of the request of the *precator*. First the seashore motif is repeated in enlarged form (349–350), not only to express Achilles’ loneliness and sorrow but also to prepare for his mother’s emergence from the waters. The gesture element of the prayer scene is present (351), a minimal invocation (μῆτερ 352), and the claim to favor, here taking the unusual form — though it is a recurrent motif in other circumstances — of the shortness of the hero’s life.⁴²

The prayer is however incomplete, as there is no specific request. This is because before that point in the prayer is reached the poet interrupts it to bring on Thetis, in a brief divine visitation scene (357–

⁴¹ See Edwards (above, n.6) on the effect of this in *Il.* 9.192–193. C. Segal (*GRBS* 9 [1968] 101–114) and Lohmann (above, n.27) 227–231 stress heavily the correspondences between the heralds in Book 1 and the embassy in Book 9; some of these are inevitably due to the pattern of the type-scene, but if Edwards’ idea that there is a change of type-scene in each case is valid the likelihood of an intentional parallel between the two scenes becomes even stronger. Calhoun (above, n.6) 7–8 lists other examples of a character realizing something without explicit mention of it.

⁴² Griffin (above, n.8) 177–178 shows the importance of this motif both for Achilles and for Hector. It is naturally often associated with Thetis.

360). The poet again refers to the sea from which she comes, and she sits beside her son and inquires about his grief, as in a number of other examples.⁴³ In answer Achilles not only recapitulates the story from the beginning of the *Iliad* but also gives a short account of the capture of Chryseis, which the poet's convention may have prevented him from bringing into the narrative.⁴⁴ (The tale of Briseis' capture and Achilles' killing of her husband will not be brought in until it is given great impact in *Il.* 19.282 f.) This part of his speech covers 26 verses, a number of them repeated from earlier in the book. The length of the account may be intended to emphasize Achilles' hurt once again before his virtual disappearance from the stage for so many books; and of course it is also good psychology for a man in his sorrowful state to pour out his woes at great length to his loving mother's ear.

After the tale is done, the prayer scene is resumed with the specific request which has been postponed from his previous speech, that she will go to Zeus (393-412). The request takes the form of an outline of the elements of the supplication scene he wishes her to enact. First he describes the approach to the *supplicandus* (394), then the offer; the latter takes the form of a claim to favor (since both parties are gods) and is amplified by a tale of her assistance to him, which may well have been invented by the poet for the occasion (394-406).⁴⁵ After this account the approach element is repeated (407, as with the ring form that so often encloses a paradeigma), this time with the addition of the gesture (taking his knees), and the specific request that the suppliant is to make of Zeus (408-412).

The prayer scene is concluded with Thetis' assent, after a characteristic lament continuing the motif of Achilles' early death (414-418); and she explains that there will have to be a delay, for a reason which will be discussed below. The whole episode is completed with the final element in the divine visitation type-scene, the return of Thetis,

⁴³ On the simile (359) see above, n.22, and Kakridis (above, n.14) 104-105. For the deity's question, cf. Thetis in the intentionally similar scene at the beginning of *Il.* 18, where Achilles' violent outburst of grief takes the place of a prayer, and Athena's visit to the sleepless Odysseus in *Od.* 20.33 f. Krischer has pointed out the similarity of this scene to that in Sappho's ode to Aphrodite (*Hermes* 96 [1968] 1-14). Fenik (*Battle Scenes*, above, n.6) 76-77 notes other examples where the deity asks what the problem is, although (as Achilles remarks here) she already knows the answer.

⁴⁴ So Krischer (above, n.10) 93-94.

⁴⁵ See M. M. Willcock, *CQ* 14 (1964) 141-154, esp. 143-144, and B. K. Braswell, *CQ* 21 (1971) 16-26, esp. 18-19. On the whole idea of the poet's free invention, Willcock, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 41-53.

elaborated by an allusion to the still sorrowing Achilles whom she leaves behind (429-430).

Analysis of this episode as a combination of three type-scenes accounts for the absence of a request from Achilles' first prayer (called substandard by Muellner⁴⁶); and the presence of most of the elements of all three scenes, neatly woven together, indicates the cohesion of the idea of the type-scene in the poet's mind.

THE VOYAGE TO CHRYSE (430b-487): ANALYSIS

Because of the high proportion of its verses which occur elsewhere, especially in the *Odyssey*, the voyage to Chryse has often been contemptuously dismissed from the *Iliad* as a cento by some "late" rhapsode.⁴⁷ The true reason for the recurrent verses is that the episode is composed of a series of regular type-scenes, all with a high ratio of standardized verses, together with the prayer of Chryses, which also naturally includes verses repeated from elsewhere. The type-scenes are: arrival by ship (430-439); handing over a gift (440-447a); sacrifice, meal, and entertainment (447b-474); retiring for the night (475-476); departure and journey by ship (477-483); and arrival by ship (484-487). The extent and nature of elaboration in each of these will first be examined, and then the importance of the episode as a whole will be explained.

ARRIVAL BY SHIP (430b-439 AND 484-487)

This type-scene is thoroughly analyzed by Arend.⁴⁸ The first of the two versions here is the fullest of all; of the thirteen elements which Arend identifies it includes ten, and of those omitted two are obviously not applicable in the case of an overnight stay (beaching and propping up the ship) and the third (description of the harbor) is an amplification which is found only on the occasion of Odysseus' landing on Ithaca

⁴⁶ Above, n.15, 23.

⁴⁷ Even by P. Chantraine, whose article (above, n.6) otherwise shows an exceptionally clear understanding of formulae for its date and is still most useful; he gives a full listing of the episode's repeated verses (148-149 and 151). Schadewaldt saw its value for the balance of the book (above, n.27, 145-146). Arguments for considering the episode a late insertion are most recently given by G. P. Goold (above, n.40) 33.

⁴⁸ Above, n.6, 79-81. In what follows I modify his framework by omitting his first element (the fixing of the time) and dividing into two elements the lowering of the sails and stowage of the mast.

(*Od.* 13.96–113). By contrast, the instance at the end of the episode (484–487) includes only one verse for the arrival and one each for beaching the ship and propping it up for a long stay, the elements which were omitted at Chryse; Arend well suggests that the reason is the poet's dislike for repeating similar elements within too short a space.⁴⁹

Of the nine verses of the longer scene four occur in identical form elsewhere, three of them in Telemachus' landing in Ithaca in *Od.* 15.485 f, which is the next most detailed version. Besides those of the Chryse episode there are only six examples of a landing where the mechanics are gone through in detail; in many of the frequent landings in the *Odyssey* the formal details are passed over and instead a full description is given of some specific relevant item such as an account of the country. This variation in technique recalls that used for the arming-scenes of Ajax and Hector. The poet is thus using the fullest appropriate means of expanding the arrival of the ship.

HANDING OVER A GIFT (440–447a)

Next Odysseus restores Chryseis to her father. The closest parallels identify this scene as one based on the bestowal of gifts, for example Achilles' courteous presentation of the jar to Nestor at the funeral games (*Il.* 23.616–650) and Helen's gift to the departing Telemachus (*Od.* 15.123–130). Chryseis is now to be restored without ransom, as Calchas bade (99), and so Odysseus plays the part of a donor. The usual pattern of a gift-giving scene is: the approach of the donor; the handing over of the gift; a short speech by the donor; and the pleased acceptance by the recipient, usually without a speech (though Nestor as usual has a few suitable remarks, *Il.* 23.626–650). In three cases the same verse is repeated for the receipt of the gift (*Il.* 1.446 = 23.624 = *Od.* 15.130), with in the present case the addition of an object noun and adjective in the following verse.⁵⁰

SACRIFICE, MEAL, AND ENTERTAINMENT (447b–474)

It is not surprising that the most detailed of all the type-scenes in Arend's study is that of a sacrifice, since it describes a complex religious ritual.⁵¹ Of the twenty-one elements into which Arend divided sacrifice

⁴⁹ Above, n.6, 79.

⁵⁰ Note that this repeated verse is *not* used at *Il.* 1.596, where the sense is the same but the type-scene is that of a greeting, not a gift-giving.

⁵¹ Arend (above, n.6) 64–78; see also David M. Gunn, "Thematic Composition and Homeric Authorship," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 1–31, esp. 22–31.

and feast scenes (some of which might well be subdivided) this scene contains eighteen; the only ones not included are the offering of hairs plucked from the beast, its actual slaughter, and the cry of womenfolk (which would be impossible here). A close parallel to the present example is the sacrifice in *Il.* 2.402 f, which also omits these three elements and the hand-washing as well (here in 449), but is expanded by the insertion of the summoning of the chiefs. Only one example is longer than this, Nestor's magnificent extravaganza for the eyes of young Telemachus in *Od.* 3.418-476, which adds the preliminaries of catching the cow and gilding its horns, includes the only occurrence of the cry of womenfolk, and also shares only with Eumaeus' pig sacrifice (*Od.* 14.413 f) the plucking of the hairs of the beast and its actual slaughter. In this example, however, Nestor's prayer is uncharacteristically short (445-446), because it has been anticipated in lines 380-384 and the repetition of the element at length would be undesirable.

Chryses' prayer begins with the same two verses of invocation as his earlier call to Apollo and includes three further verses which are similar to or identical with those of Achilles' prayer to Zeus in *Il.* 16 (1.453 \simeq 16.236, 1.454-455 = 16.237-238). The fullness in the description of the sacrifice and feast, combined with the repetitions in the prayer, mean that of the 23 verses of the sacrifice and meal (447-469) all but four (447-449 and 456) are found elsewhere. It must be noted however that there is no verbatim parallel to the whole scene, and as Chantraine wrote, "Même pour un motif aussi banal que cette description de sacrifice, on observe un jeu de formules traditionnelles, non une répétition mécanique."⁵²

A feast scene normally concludes with entertainment in the form of conversation (e.g. *Il.* 2.433 f, 7.324 f). Here this would be inappropriate, and the poet substitutes further drinking and the singing of a paean to Apollo (470-474), which also signifies his assent to Chryses' prayer.⁵³

⁵² Above, n.6, 127.

⁵³ Chantraine's objection to line 471 (above, n.6, 152) on the grounds that it places the libation *after* the drinking, is not valid, as this libation does not belong to the regular type-scene of feasting and is actually the prelude to the paean to Apollo. The verses parallel to 470-471 in other scenes similarly serve not as part of a feast but as prelude to another action; the examples are: *Il.* 9.175-176, before the departure of the embassy; *Od.* 3.339-340, after the conversation which follows Nestor's sacrifice and before the retiring for the night; *Od.* 21.271-272, following the vain efforts of the suitors with the bow and preceding its delivery to Odysseus. In *Od.* 1.148 (= *Il.* 1.470) the verse is used as part of the suitors' meal, but the circumstances are unusual in that another

The element is thus turned to good effect. Even more powerful is the substitution after the meal of Priam and Achilles, where they gaze at each other in mutual wonder (*Il.* 24.629-633).

RETIRING FOR THE NIGHT (475-476)

This type-scene has been examined by D. M. Gunn.⁵⁴ Here it is naturally treated very briefly, as we have no special interest in any of the present company.

DEPARTURE AND VOYAGE OF A SHIP (477-483)

Arend discusses in detail the relation between the departure of the ship here and that when it is dispatched from the Greek camp by Agamemnon (308-311), a passage which repeats part of Agamemnon's announcement that he will return Chryseis (141-144). The only elements used in the earlier scene are those which are important, that is, the choosing of the crew and the embarking of Chryseis and the cattle for sacrifice; there is no mention of mast, sails, or wind. But on the homeward voyage the poet uses much more elaboration, concentrating on motifs of divine favor and joy; Apollo sends the favorable wind (479), and the wave sings against the bow as the vessel surges easily ahead. Even more detail is sometimes added; in Telemachus' sailing from Ithaca (*Od.* 2.417 f) besides the favoring wind there is

meal description, that of Telemachus and Athena, has immediately preceded and the poet is hard put to it to avoid use of the same phrases for both in close proximity (on this see W. C. Scott, *TAPA* 102 [1971] 541-551). Reinhardt (*Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* [Göttingen 1961] 89) drops the lines on grounds similar to Chantraine's. The only verse about which I feel doubt here is 473, which is obelized in Allen's P99 (= *PSI* II 113, Pack² 608) and contains a nominative (κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν) oddly placed after the subject οἱ in the preceding verse; in the similar verse *Il.* 22.391 the construction is quite normal (cf. Edwards [above, n.7] 168 nn.139 and 155). There is however a similarly awkward construction in Hesiod fr. 204.46-47 MW, and *Il.* 21.505-506 is fairly close. Removal of 473 would solve some of the problems which have led to the obelizing of 474.

⁵⁴ Above, n.51, 17-22. The lines describing sunset and sunrise (475, 477) have provided ammunition for those who think the episode is late, because 477 is found twenty times in the *Odyssey* and only once again in the *Iliad* (24.788), and 475 does not recur in identical form in the *Iliad* but is found six times in the *Odyssey*. Van der Valk points out however (*AC* 35 [1966] 49-50) that the *Iliad* contains verses which are obviously related to 475 (2.413, 11.194 = 209 = 17.455), and the absence of 477 may simply be due to a preference for a more solemn formula, e.g., at *Il.* 19.1-2.

more elaboration in raising the mast and setting the sail, and in *Od.* 15.290 f there is even a description of the geographical features passed on the way (295-298), perhaps because of the possibility of ambush by the suitors. The expansion here may therefore be regarded as full but not exceptionally so. The final beaching and propping up of the ship (484-487) has already been mentioned.⁵⁵

THE VOYAGE TO CHRYSE: GENERAL COMMENT

Many (but not all) of the type-scenes in the episode are elaborated, but not exceptionally so in extent; all are standard scenes and have a high ratio of recurrent verses, but there is as much variation in detail as there normally is between occurrences of the same type-scene, and they conform to the usual principle that identical type-scenes do not elaborate the same elements if they are in close proximity. The high proportion of recurrent verses results from the unusual conglomeration of this kind of type-scene, and the large number of verses found only here and in the *Odyssey* is the natural result of the frequency of sea voyages in that poem and their absence from the rest of the *Iliad*. These facts should therefore not be considered as evidence of "late" insertion of the episode.

But why should the poet compose such a cluster of standard type-scenes here? The answer emerges if full weight and appreciation is given to the remarkable five-verse scene which immediately follows, before 'Thetis' journey to Olympus begins.

"ABSENT BUT MUCH CONCERNED" SCENE (488-492)

Achilles still sits in angry dejection by his ships, taking no part in assemblies or battle but longing all the time in his heart for the clamor and the fighting. There are a number of examples of this sudden view of a character who is not participating in the immediate action or perhaps even aware of it, but who is intimately concerned (at least in the poet's mind). Often they have a strong emotional effect. The closest parallel to the present scene is at *Il.* 17.401-411, where at the height of the battle over Patroclus' body Achilles is said to be still unaware of his death. Similar (if less moving) is *Il.* 13.521-525, where

⁵⁵ On the amplified version of this landing found in a Ptolemaic papyrus see Stephanie West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* III, Cologne 1967) 32-35. The *Hymn to Apollo* need not have been the source of the additional verses, as they may well have occurred in other epics now lost.

the death of Ascalaphus is followed by a short passage stating that Ares is unaware of his son's fall and is still sitting with the other gods on Olympus.⁵⁶ Also rather similar are several passages in the *Catalogue of Ships* where Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes are stated *not* to be at the head of their troops.⁵⁷ The expression in the present scene is concise but emphatic, especially the full-verse nominative phrase in 489.⁵⁸

The effect of this scene is to enclose the whole Chryse episode between two passages describing Achilles' desolation (428-430 and 488-492). This accounts both for the insertion of the voyage and for its length, for when Achilles enters the story again after what seems to be a considerable length of time he is still found to be in deep despair. We are to feel that days and days of battle and assembly have been going on without him (490-491), instead of the 24 hours or so (one night away from camp) that the poet has actually described for the return of Chryseis; and the long elaboration of each type-scene has given the impression of a considerable span of time during which Achilles' grief has endured. It is of course also for this reason that the poet has invented the twelve-day vacation of the gods, which some commentators have seemed to consider a historical fact which the poet uses the Chryse voyage to fill up.⁵⁹ He wants the twelve days for the moving

⁵⁶ These two passages, together with *Il.* 17.377-383, are grouped by B. Hellwig as cases where a transition is made by means of reference to a character who is *not* observing the previous action (*Raum und Zeit im hom. Epos* [*Spudasmata* II, Hildesheim 1964] 91 n.94). Fenik (*Battle Scenes*, above, n.6) 139 draws a parallel between *Il.* 13.513 f and 5.503 f, which is not close to our passage, and to *Il.* 11.57-59, 13.345-360, and 15.596-600, which are all quite similar to ours.

⁵⁷ *Il.* 2.686-694, 699-703, 721-725.

⁵⁸ Bolling's strictures against this verse (*The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* [Baltimore 1944] 63-65) seem to me unjustified; *Il.* 3.328-329 (which he quotes) is a good parallel. The adjective *κυδιάνερα* is used only here to qualify *ἀγορή* (490) and elsewhere always goes with *μάχη*, but the idea is not unhomeric.

⁵⁹ Kakridis has other (very amusing) examples of this "Wirklichkeitsfanatismus" in *Das Altertum* (*Festschr. Schadewaldt*, Stuttgart 1970) 51-64. The point is best seen by J. T. Sheppard (*The Pattern of the Iliad* [London 1922] 21: "The second panel [i.e., the voyage] is, as usual, an interlude, which serves to make the hearer realize the long waiting of Achilles, still sitting in his hut, his anger eating at his heart") and F. M. Stawell (*Homer and the Iliad* [London 1909] 16: "We understand Achilles' restless longing all the better when we think of those twelve days in his hut alone"). Owen for once misses the point ("But why [Thetis' mission] should be postponed for as much as twelve days it is hard to see" [above, n.13, 10 n.1]). Other suggestions are made by Calhoun (above, n.6) 17, Reinhardt (above, n.53) 95, and Schadewaldt (above, n.27) 146.

picture of the long isolation of the hero, and just as in the text the voyage extends from Thetis' departure from Achilles to her journey to Olympus (after another view of him), so the details of the voyage seem to spread over the twelve interminable days of his waiting.

SUPPLICATION SCENE (493-532)

This begins normally with the approach of the suppliant to the *supplicandus* (495-499). Her gesture includes both embracing his knees and raising her hand to his chin — but Athena's remark that she *kissed* his knees is just malicious exaggeration (*Il.* 8.371). There is no offer; in its place is the claim to favor element, which is placed before the request, as in a prayer scene. This inversion may be connected with the fact that the claim to favor is only hinted at, as it has been told in detail in Achilles' foreshadowing of the interview (396-406).⁶⁰ The poet does not repeat in detail either the complaint of Achilles (though some of his verses would have fitted here⁶¹) or the words of his request for the Greek defeat. Doubtless if realism were all-important Thetis would be much more eloquent on her son's behalf, but the poet condenses the material in order to emphasize the interaction of the divinities and the prospect of Zeus' great decision, rather than going once again over the familiar facts of the case.

Everyone awaits the next element, the response of the *supplicandus*, the decision of Zeus. It does not come, and the poet inserts a repetition of the supplication, to increase the tension even further. The nearest parallels are Hera's repeated request and increased bribe to Sleep after his first refusal (*Il.* 14.264-269), and Iris' second attempt to persuade Poseidon to obey Zeus after his angry rejection of the order (*Il.* 15.201-204), but in neither case is the effect so impressive as Zeus' awful silence. Finally he answers, and his response begins in comical harassment; he nervously pushes Thetis away from his knees (522) and then assents, with a not very successful attempt to preserve his dignity (524-527). The poet, surely partly at least tongue-in-cheek, adds the three impressive verses which so inspired Phidias (528-530).

⁶⁰ I would agree with Braswell (above, n.45) 19 n.2 against Willcock (same note) 143 that the lack of repetition of the Briareus tale here is not due to its invention; the repetition of a tale which is not part of the actual epic narrative would be very surprising. Aristotle's remark (quoted by Braswell) that the great man does not like to be reminded of favors done him by others is also very pertinent.

⁶¹ The only repeated verse in Thetis' appeal to Zeus is 507, which was used by Achilles in his first short prayer to her (356; it is repeated at *Il.* 2.240 by Thersites).

The poet has individualized the standard scene and has carefully differentiated it from Achilles' anticipation of it (394-412), not by lengthy eloquence from the parties concerned, but by the device of inventing the silence of the *supplicandus* and repeating the timid request of the suppliant.⁶² This builds up to the humorous disparity between the mighty ruler of the universe and the henpecked husband.

DIVINE ASSEMBLY SCENE (533-604)

Assemblies of the gods are handled differently from those of men. Often the gods are already in session when the scene begins, and the speeches begin without further ado.⁶³ This is the case here, except that Zeus arrives late because of his session with Thetis. Often the council is combined with a feast (as here), or the drinking may begin even before the debate (*Il.* 4.1-4). The quarrel begins, as did the human one earlier, but of course with much more humor.

MEDIATION SCENE (571-583)

Amid the general embarrassment that follows Zeus' threat of violence against his wife, Hephaestus speaks up as mediator. The scene has been discussed with the earlier mediation scene above (247-304).

GREETING SCENE (584-596)

Hephaestus hands a cup of wine to his angry mother, with words of good cheer; his words are amplified with a short hortatory paradeigma (590-594). Hera herself behaves similarly towards Thetis at *Il.* 24.101-102. These scenes have been treated elsewhere.⁶⁴

FEAST AND ENTERTAINMENT SCENE (597-604)

This is elaborated by the tomfoolery of Hephaestus in the role of Ganymede and the song of Apollo and the Muses, which has significance

⁶² The repetition has a kind of negative variant of the claim to favor, "so that I may know by how much I am the least honored of divinities" (515-516), which benefits Thetis' doleful temperament.

⁶³ As at *Il.* 7.443, 22.166, 24.23, *Od.* 1.26. Once they arrive without apparent summons (*Od.* 5.3), once there is a very brief summons (*Il.* 8.2), and once a very elaborate summons prepares for the great battle of the gods (*Il.* 20.4-15). This last is the only instance mentioned by Arend.

⁶⁴ By M. W. Edwards (above, n.6) 55, with a collection of parallels. On the paradeigma in the speech see Willcock and Braswell (above, n.45) and Lohmann (above, n.27) 80-85.

in portraying the god in a very different role from that which he played at the beginning of the book; *nec semper arcum tendit Apollo*.

RETIRING FOR THE NIGHT (605-611)

The scene is moderately elaborated by description of the homes of the gods; on such scenes see note 54 above. The last verses prepare for the "all the others . . . but not . . ." motif which will introduce the action of the following book. This technique also links *Iliad* 9 to 10 and 23 to 24.

This is the first time that a complete book of Homer (other than the battles) has been divided into type-scenes, and the perhaps tedious analysis has, I think, resulted in a better appreciation of each scene and of the book as a whole. In all ancient poetry an understanding both of the genre and of many literary tropes is essential for evaluation, and in the case of epic the indispensable prerequisite is knowledge of the universality of type-scenes and the regular features of each one.

Of course, repeated type-scenes occur in any kind of literature, just as they do in life, but it is natural to suppose that standardization of elements and the technique of treating them at greater or lesser length arose from the demands of varying circumstances on the oral singer. But I feel that Homer, as in the case of formulae, has developed a technical device into an aesthetic one. Observation of the varying amounts of elaboration, and realization of the uniqueness of much of the material used, adds much to appreciation of the detailed perfection of the poems.

There is another aspect too. In the case of formulae, we have learnt not to base much interpretation on recurrence of a certain verse or sequence of verses, as they are generally used in each instance without any reference to other cases where they are employed. To a large extent this is likely to be true of type-scenes as well, and caution must be used in interpreting correspondences which may arise simply from the repetition of the same type-scene. Here too, however, the aesthetic often predominates over the merely technical, and I do not feel that it is just a type-scene tradition that makes the death of Patroclus correspond so closely with Hector's, or produces the overpowering irony of Thetis' second visit to Achilles (*Il.* 18.73 f) after the fulfilment of the request he made at her first visit has led to his personal disaster.⁶⁵ Whether the

⁶⁵ On repeated type-scenes see Nagler (above, n.6), esp. 200-201.

quarrel and effective mediation on Olympus bears any special relation to the unresolved wrangle on earth earlier in *Iliad* 1 and whether the ransoming scene at the end of the poem gains anything in impact by comparison with its counterpart at the beginning must be left to the individual reader to decide.⁶⁶

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⁶⁶ The first version of this paper was read at a colloquium in honor of Brooks Otis, Paddison Professor of Latin in the University of North Carolina, held at Chapel Hill in April 1977. Later drafts were read at a symposium on Homer held at the University of Southern California in November 1977 and at a colloquium at the University of California at Berkeley. I am grateful to those who invited me to participate on these occasions.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL FICTION IN PINDAR

MARY LEFKOWITZ

WHO is the "I" in Pindar's odes? In "The First Person in Pindar" I had intended to prove "conclusively" that the "I" in the victory odes could never represent any speaker other than the poet; that passages where the scholia said the chorus spoke in its own person could always be better understood as statements in the person of the poet.¹ I suggested that in lyric poetry who was speaking where could be distinguished on the basis of style: statements by the poet always pertained to his art and tended to be expressed in particular recurring metaphors.² But statements made by the chorus had a strikingly different subject matter. The members of the chorus talked about themselves in their choral role; they described who they were, how they looked, what they were doing at the moment.³ I did not realize at the time that my attempt to describe the characteristics of the poet's "I" was simply another way of saying that poets' statements about themselves followed defined conventions. And it was more than a decade later when I realized that what poets said about themselves and their role represented a virtual mythology of poetic behavior.⁴

When I finished my dissertation in 1961 I had not read Bundy's *Studia Pindarica* (1962) and I still believed that certain passages in the odes concerned specific historical problems.⁵ Consequently, I made an

¹ *HSCP* 67 (1963) 177-253, esp. 226-237, based on the dissertation summarized in vol. 66 (1962) 259-262.

² *Ibid.* 206-207, 209-210.

³ *Ibid.*, 194-195. See also T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Alcman's *Partheneion* I Reconsidered," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 239 n.34; M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama* (Helsinki 1970) 29-31; M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Influential Fictions in the Scholia to Pindar's *Pythian* 8," *CP* 70 (1975) 179-185; S. C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London 1978) 219, 302 nn.18-19; C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977) I 436. I have not yet seen O. Tsagarakis, "Self-Expression in Early Greek Lyric," *Palingenesia* 11 (Wiesbaden 1977), rev. S. R. Ireland, *G & R* 26 (1979) 88-89; but his "Die Subjektivität in der griechischen Lyrik" (diss. 1966) took no account of Bundy (n.5) or my "First Person" (n.1).

⁴ M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Poet as Hero: Fifth-Century Autobiography and Subsequent Biographical Fiction," *CQ* 28 (1978) 459-469.

⁵ *CPCP* 18. 1-2 (Berkeley 1962) 1-92.

unnecessary distinction between a "bardic I" and a "personal I" in the odes. Now I would simply talk about longer and shorter poetic statements.⁶ But in fact even then I saw that the function of the presumably "personal" I-statements primarily concerned poetry and that the language of these statements ultimately derived from the epic poet's professional vocabulary.⁷

But it is misleading to describe these statements solely in terms of their basic function, as "transitional," or "gnomic," or whatever. The longer I-statements have drawn the attention of ancient and modern scholars because they give an impression of intense involvement. The diction of these passages tends also to be highly dramatic and allusive; they demand the listener's participation directly, whereas at other times the poet keeps his audience at a distance, as when he narrates a myth or lists past victories. Ancient scholars looked outside the poems to explain why the poet spent so much time talking about himself. They may have been wrong to interpret these passages as political apologies, but they were right to sense in them a combative and defensive tone.

In reconsidering some of these passages, I would like to argue that the combative tone and "personal" references express the poet's understanding of the meaning of victory; that in these statements he describes himself as taking a combatant's risks, sharing his determination, experiencing his sense of isolation. Accordingly the statements, whatever historical or geographical detail they might include, express a particular autobiographical mythology. Thus they will not necessarily tell us more about Pindar's real life than the myth of Ixion tells us about Hieron.⁸ For all their use of the first-person pronoun, they will not tell us more about Pindar's own individual view of the poet's profession than the opening stanza of *Ol. 1* tells us about the specific topography of the site. I have chosen for discussion passages that I think are particularly subject to misinterpretation, because of their references to danger and to violence and because of the speaker's repeated references to his own behavior. Each has been interpreted as a political statement of some kind, against public or private enemies.⁹

⁶ M. R. Lefkowitz, "Pindar's Lives," *Classica et Iberica* (Festschrift Marique; Worcester, Mass. 1975) 81 n.26.

⁷ Lefkowitz, "First Person" (n.1) 216, 219, 223.

⁸ On the function of the Ixion myth, see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Modern Interpretation of Pindar," *JHS* 93 (1973) 109; M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode: An Introduction* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976) 32-33; but cf. T. Glantz, "Pindar's Second Pythian: the Myth of Ixion," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 14-16.

⁹ Cf. also *Pyth. 2.67-96*, discussion in *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 24-33. Texts cited below are Turyn's except as noted, translations my own, except for *Nem. 7* (*infra* n.34).

The opening of *Isthm.* 8 is of special interest because it appears to refer to a historical event and because the poet refers repeatedly to a shared grief:

Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἀλικία τε λύτρον
 εὔδοξον, ὧ νέοι, καμάτων
 πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρόθυρον
 ἰῶν ἀνεγειρέτω
 κῶμον, Ἰσθμιάδος τε νίκας ἄποινα, καὶ Νεμέα
 ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξεῦρε· τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀχνύμενος
 θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι
 Μοῖσαν. ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες
 μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανία πέσωμεν στεφάνων,
 μήτε κάδεα θεράπευε· παυσάμενοι δ' ἀπράκτων κακῶν
 γλυκύ τι δαμωσόμεθα καὶ μετὰ πόνον·
 ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς
 λίθον γε Ταντάλου παρὰ τις ἔτρεψεν ἄμμι θεός,
 ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μόχθον. ἀλλὰ
 ἐμὲ δεῖμα μὲν παροιχόμενον
 καρτερὰν ἔπανσε μέριμναν· τὸ δὲ πρὸ ποδός
 ἄρειον αἰεὶ βλέπειν
 χρῆμα πᾶν· δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται,
 ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον· ἰατὰ δ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖς σύν γ' ἐλευθερία
 καὶ τά. χρὴ δ' ἀγαθὰν ἐλπίδ' ἀνδρὶ μέλειν·
 χρὴ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα
 Αἰγίνα Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν,
 πατρὸς οὐνεκα δίδυμαι γέγοντο θύγατρῃς Ἀσωπίδων
 ὀπλόταται, Ζηνὶ τε ἄδον βασιλεῖ.

For Cleandrus and the young men of his age, boys, let one of you go to Telesarchus' shining porch and awaken a famous ransom from sorrow, a victory song, recompense for his victory at the Isthmus, and because he found power at Nemea.¹⁰ Therefore also I, although grieving in my heart, ask to call upon the golden Muse.¹¹ But having been released from great sorrow, let us not fall into a lack of victory garlands, and do not nurse your own griefs. But having respite from evils we can do nothing about, let

¹⁰ A. Köhnken, "Gods and Descendants of Aiakos in Pindar's Eighth Isthmian Ode," *BICS* 22 (1975) 25–26, 32 n.4 translates "in honor of Kleandros who is of the same age"; C. Carey, "Pindarica," *Dionysiaca* (Festschrift Page; Cambridge, Eng. 1978) 41 n.35, "his youth." But *ἡλικία* must refer to the group of age-mates who were raised with him and who joined with him in the performance of rituals; cf. esp. the organization of choruses described by Calame (n.3) I 441–443 and the role of the *ἡλικία* in Kaibel 73, 78.

¹¹ *αἰτέομαι* is more likely to be middle than passive; e.g. Aesch., *Pers.* 625 and P. Col. Inv. 7963 1.9 (Aesch., *Psychopompoi*); cf. Köhnken (n.10) 32 n.6, Carey (n.10) 29.

us bring before the city something sweet even after our sorrow; since Zeus has turned the stone above Tantalus' head away for us, a burden unbearable for Greece. For me fear has passed and put an end to my stronger concern: it is always best to look at what is at hand, in respect to every matter.¹² For a treacherous lifespan hangs over men, twisting the path of life. But even this can be healed for mortals with freedom. Good hope must be of concern to a man; and a man raised in seven-gated Thebes must bring forth the flower of the Graces for Aegina, because they were twin daughters of one father, the youngest of the Asopides, and were pleasing to king Zeus (1-18).

Before Bundy, it was fashionable to see Pindar's reference to the "burden unbearable for Greece" as political, and to suggest that the poet's "pain" had been caused by Thebes' medizing. But as Köhnken has recently shown, there is no reason to look outside the ode for an explanation of this repeated reference to grief.¹³ The phrase πανσάμενοι δ' ἀπράκτων κακῶν follows a standard pattern of *consolatio*: cf. *Il.* 24.524, οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο; Bacchyl. 5.162, οὐ γάρ τις ἐστὶν πρᾶξις τάδε μυρομένοις.¹⁴ The poet says later in the ode, after the myth, that his song is intended as a memorial to the victor's cousin Nicocles, who like Cleandrus (4) won the pancration at Nemea (61-62). The intervening myth shows how the Muses' song has made the victories of Achilles survive his death: "the gods too thought it right to give a good man to the Muses' songs of praise" (59-60). In the same way the present *epinikion* will keep the memory of the dead Nicocles alive.

Combining the present with the past and perceiving similarities not ordinarily apparent is what Pindar does so brilliantly in other odes. Here he begins with the traditional notion of song as reward and develops it into a general statement about freedom and confinement. First a victory procession is a λύτρον, "release," from toils (καμάτων) connected with training for athletic competition. Next the poet in his grief joins the rest of the celebrants in being ἐκ μεγάλων πενθέων λυθέντες "released from great sorrow," so that πένθεα like κάματοι are characterized as forms of confinement. The metaphor is further developed by reference to "the stone of Tantalus above our heads, a burden unbearable for Greece [ἀτόλματον μόχθον]." "Fear now past" had kept the poet from his "stronger interest" (or "ambition," cf. *Pyth.* 8.92). The war, described literally as an impediment (τὸ πρὸ ποδός) became

¹² Reading καρτερὰν . . . μέριμναν παροιχόμενον; see Carey (n.10) 34.

¹³ Köhnken (n.10) 27, 31; cf. Carey (n.10) 29.

¹⁴ Also *Od.* 10.202, 566; see M. R. Lefkowitz, "Bacchylides' *Ode* 5," *HSCP* 73 (1969) 84-85.

his first concern. Then the course of life itself becomes like Tantalus' stone, "treacherous it hangs upon man's head, twisting the course of his existence."¹⁵ The description of the stone and its burden concludes with reference to release: "and even this may be healed for mortals with freedom [ἐλευθερίᾳ]." War is described as enslavement; its end allows men once again to direct their lives where they wish. The opening lines give this theme immediate emphasis: "let one of you go and awaken a song as ransom [λύτρον, release] from sorrow."¹⁶

Reference to the common ancestry of Thebes and Aegina effects the transition back to the present and confirms the poet's friendship for his patron.¹⁷ Statements of *xenia* are conventional, but in this long passage, the poet expresses his ties to the victor by showing that he is involved in the victor's suffering and struggles: "and so also I although I am grieving at heart, ask to call upon the golden Muse." "We" then replaces "I": "having been freed [plur.] from sorrow let us not fall"; "god has turned aside *for us*." Poetic art and heroic achievement are described by the same metaphors. First, song is a means of returning from darkness to light: the Muse is explicitly "golden" (not, for example, "violet-crowned"); to celebrate is to "bring forth [προνέμειν] the flower of Graces." "The poets demonstrated Achilles' valor [ἔδειξαν, 47]." Achilles's deed at Troy also "showed forth [πρόφαινεν] Aegina and her root" (56). "[Cleandrus] did not hide his youth under a hole without being tried for glory" (70).¹⁸ Inability to act causes "falling into a lack of (victory) garlands." By describing the effect of art and of victory in similar language, the poet makes his own achievement seem as significant and difficult as the victor's.

But it is important also that this I-statement sets the poet apart. The opening command establishes authority; then the poet's conduct becomes a model for others. Description of the poet himself ("although I am grieving at heart, *I* ask to call on the golden Muse") is followed by an exhortation for all to join with him in celebration: "having been freed from great sorrows let *us* not fall into a lack of garlands." Individual command "do not nurse [sing.] sorrows" is again followed immediately by general exhortation: "having respite from sorrows, let *us* bring

¹⁵ Cf. *Ol.* 1.57-59, where the stone also serves both as emotional and physical restraint.

¹⁶ See also Köhnken (n.10) 25; cf. E. Thummer, *Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte* (Heidelberg 1968) II 127.

¹⁷ Carey (n.10) 42 n.45.

¹⁸ Cf. D. C. Young, "The Text of Pindar Isthmian 8. 70," *AJP* 94 (1973) 319-326.

before the people." Description of the effect of grief on all (the stone of Tantalus and its restraint) is followed by personal example: "good hope must be of concern to a man, and a man raised in seven-gated Thebes must bring forth the flower of the Graces for Aegina." The long first-person statement establishes the poet's attitude as example of correct behavior.

In these lines the poet's primary purpose is to demonstrate by his own response to the victory how both the victor and the other celebrants should understand its meaning for their lives. Metaphors give the events he describes — victories at Nemea, Isthmia, the end of a war — their most general application. He mentions his Theban nationality to express kinship with an Aeginetan family; but he tells us nothing about his own feelings about Thebes and its role in the war. There is no reference to any specific battle or particular death. Repeated emphasis on grief stresses that in this poem the war's (and the victory's) primary significance is *emotional*.¹⁹

These observations about the first-person statement at the beginning of *Isthm.* 8 may enhance our understanding of the last line of *Isthm.* 7. *Isthm.* 7 is a short ode with an unusual format: a list of possible themes, a transition to the present victory, the victor's achievements. Then praise of the victor's family centers on the victor's uncle, who had died in a war fighting for his country. After that, as in *Isthm.* 8, reference to loss is followed by an exhortation to rejoice because of present good fortune:

ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν· ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι
 Γαῖόχοχος εὐδῖαν ὄπασσεν
 ἐκ χειμῶνος· αἰέσομαι χαίταν στεφάνοισιν ἀρμόζων. ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων
 μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.
 ὃ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων,
 ἔκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον
 αἰῶνα. θνήσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες·
 δαίμων δ' αἴσος· τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
 παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν ἔδραν·

I (or they?) suffered sorrow unspeakable. But now to me the Earth-holder has given fair sky out of the storm. I shall sing binding my hair with flowers. Let the gods' envy not disturb [the bright sky]. Pursuing whatever joy the day brings I shall come peacefully upon old age and my fated lifespan. For we all die nonetheless, though our fates are unequal.

¹⁹ Cf. the last strophe of *Nem.* 11; M. R. Lefkowitz, *JHS* 99 (1979) 55-56.

And if one searches for what is far off, one is too short to reach the bronze-floored dwelling of the gods (37-44).

The scholiasts were puzzled by these lines. They suggested that "I suffered sorrow unspeakable" was spoken in the person of the chorus (51a); either that or ἑταλαν was third person plural (51b), spoken by the relatives of the victor's dead uncle. They also suggested that the lines about coming peacefully upon old age were spoken "as if by the victor" (55b, III p. 267). Clearly they could not understand how the lines could be relevant if spoken in the person of the poet.

In his recent study of *Isthm. 7* David Young uses the ancient suggestion that the lines were spoken by the victor, to support his argument that Pindar means the lines as advice in the form of "if I were you."²⁰ The lines, he notes, describe the ideal conduct of the living hero, and are therefore appropriate to the victor.²¹ But in *Isthm. 8* the model for right behavior is clearly stated in the person of the poet, who himself turns from sorrow to joy and who practices the attitude toward life that he advises: "good hope must be of concern to a man." I see no reason why the poet should not be speaking in his own person in *Isthm. 7*; what he says applies to the victor, and to his friends and family, but primarily to himself in his professional role. ἑταλαν can be understood as first person, since in *Isthm. 8* the poet says he is suffering on account of the loss incurred by the victor's family in the war: ("therefore I too, although I am grieving at heart, ask to call upon the golden Muse"). In *Isthm. 8* danger was described metaphorically: "the god turned aside the stone of Tantalus above our heads;" in *Isthm. 7* Poseidon gives "bright sky out of the storm" (war is a "hailstorm" in 27). His description of his future behavior emphasizes taking the joy the day brings, lest one try to do more and fall like Bellerophon. *Isthm. 8* too emphasizes the possible: good hope must be of concern to a man; one born in Thebes must sing the praises of Aegina. The advice in both cases is relevant because it concerns human limitations. The metaphor of "bright sky" warns that victory by nature is ephemeral.²²

In other odes also "autobiography" is intended as example. The paideutic function of odes virtually requires that first-person statements occupy a proportionally large place.²³ In *Nem. 8*, for example, a myth

²⁰ Pindar *Isthmian 7, Myth and Exempla* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 15; Leiden 1971) 30-46.

²¹ Ibid. 40.

²² On the *topos*, see esp. M. Dickie, "On the Meaning of ἐφήμερος," *ICS* I (1975) 12-13.

²³ Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 170, 175.

about the contest over Achilles' armor concludes with a first-person statement prescribing a plan for model behavior in life:

εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος,
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις
 ἀπλόαις ζωῆς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανῶν ὥς παισὶ κλέος
 μὴ τὸ δύσφαμον προσάψω. χρυσὸν εὖχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι
 ἀπέραντον, ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν καὶ χθονὶ γυνῖα καλύψαι,
 αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

May my nature never be such [like the envious], father Zeus, but may I fasten on simple paths of life, so that when I die I will not fasten on my children a reputation of ill fame. Some ask for gold, others for boundless land, I, when I have pleased my fellow citizens, to cover my limbs with earth, praising the praiseworthy, sowing blame upon wrongdoers" (35-39).

It is possible to interpret these lines as general moral advice to the victor about the advantages of the honest and moderate life.²⁴ But the "I" signifies more than "if I were you." Pindar has just finished telling the story of Ajax's defeat by Odysseus in a dramatically new way. Instead of saying that the gods were responsible (as in *Od.* 11), or that the decision was made by women's gossip (as in *Il. Parv.*, fr. 2 Allen) Pindar states that the Greeks "in hidden ballots cherished Odysseus." His story emphasizes the power of speech: "if a man is not a glib speaker oblivion pins him down; the greatest prize is held out to the lie that changes its colors" (24-25); "for even long ago there was hateful persuasion, which travels along with deceptive speeches, spite that works evil" (32-34). The "I" in 35 ff dissociates himself from this behavior; he sets himself apart from ordinary men who give priority to having money or land; he (by contrast) will go through life openly "praising the praiseworthy, sowing blame on wrongdoers." In this way, he continues in 40 ff, *areta* can grow "lifted like a tree with green dew among wise and just men towards the moist air." He does not specify whose *areta*, because the general truth applies to the achievement of poet, victor, and hero.²⁵

Metaphors of wrestling link the I-statement to the action of the myth. There "*Phthonos* fastened (*ἄπτεται*) on good men, and did not fight with bad; *phthonos* bit the son of Telamon and wrapped him round his sword" (22-23). The "I" in the statement prays "to fasten [*ἐφαπτοίμαν*, 36] on simple paths of life, so that when I die I will not fasten on my children a reputation of ill fame" (35-36). The poet, by

²⁴ C. Carey, "Pindar's Eighth Nemean Ode," *PCPS* 22 (1976) 34.

²⁵ Cf. Carey, "Nem. 8" (n.24) 35.

describing himself as a combatant, enters the victor's world: "I stand on light feet, drawing breath before I speak. Many tales are told in many ways, and there is every danger in discovering new stories and putting them to the test" (20-21).²⁶ What "danger" does he mean? Not criticism from others, because poets customarily were expected to explain motivations for what happens in myth in any way that they chose.²⁷ Rather it resembles the danger faced by the athlete, of making an error in judgment, of failing to carry out one's task. Significantly, in *Nem.* 8 the poet describes his goal, like the athlete's, as *kleos*; but not *kleos* at any cost: the *kleos* must be not like the "rotten *kudos*" of the undeserving (34).

We might compare how in *Nem.* 4 the poet exhorts himself to hold out against attack:

ἔμπα, καίπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιάς ἄλμα
μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλία· σφόδρα δόξομεν
δαΐων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν·
φθονερά δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων
γνώμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει
χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποιαν ἀρετάν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.

Although the deep salt of the sea holds you around the middle, stand firm against plots. For surely we shall seem to enter the contest in the light higher than our enemies. Another man looks enviously and rolls in darkness his empty intention that has fallen to the ground. But I know well that whatever excellence lord Fate has given me, time will come and bring it to completion (36-43).

As in *Nem.* 8 the poet portrays himself as an athlete, though here as a wrestler, since he is writing for a victor in wrestling (10). At the same time his language is sufficiently general also to suggest that he is engaged in battle like the heroes he celebrates in the myths.²⁸

Who are the poet's enemies? The scholiasts interpreted the passage as an allegory about Simonides, "who liked to use digressions."²⁹ But as in *Nem.* 8 no names are mentioned because the dangers he alludes

²⁶ Ibid. 30.

²⁷ See esp. Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 136-137; A. Köhnken, "Pindar as Innovator: Poseidon Hippios and the Relevance of the Pelops Story in *OL*.1," *CQ* 24 (1974) 199-206; Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 81-82, 86-89, 110-111.

²⁸ G. Maloney, "Sur l'unité de la IV^e Néméenne de Pindare," *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 181; J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindare* (Klincksieck études et commentaires 87; Paris 1964) 93-95; Lefkowitz, "First Person" (n.1) 218 n.94.

²⁹ Lefkowitz, "Pindar's Lives" (n.6) 80-81; P. Angeli Bernardini, "L'aquila tebana vola ancora," *QUCC* 26 (1977) 123; cf. Péron (n.28) 95-100.

to are always present in a poet's work: of envy and of failure to compose successfully through lack of talent or skill. The passage follows a *kairos* statement (33-35); at the beginning of the ode he had spoken of drawing song from his "deep mind" (7-9); here he speaks of the need to free himself from the "deep sea."³⁰ His entering the contest "in the light," that is, as victor, is contrasted with the envious opponent's rolling his "intention" *in darkness* after it has fallen to the ground. The associations express the poet's concern not only with problems of relevance but with the dangers of envy. His behavior, as in *Nem.* 8 emerges as courageous, ameliorative, and moral.

The last lines of *Nem.* 4 again describe the poet's role as an athlete's but in language more explicit than in the earlier statement about the deep sea:

ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχη,
 ἔλπεται τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.
 οἷον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι,
 ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν,
 μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς,
 τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἐφεδρος.

Generations differ from one another. A man hopes to speak best of what he himself has encountered. So praising Melesias one should change his attack, weaving his words; not to be wrestled down in speech; with good intention towards good men, but a hard adversary for the spiteful to reckon with (91-96).

The generalizing allusions to "plots" and "enemies" are now absent, and the poet is described in technical terms as a wrestler, with specific strategies. But again the contest has moral tone as well: his skill must help his friends and harm "the spiteful"; cf. the first-person statement in *Nem.* 8. 39 "praising the praiseworthy, sowing blame on wrongdoers."

By using for poetry the same terminology as for athletic and heroic achievement, the I-statements can be used to express and define the central values of victory. This is the function of the first-person statement in *Pyth.* 11:

θεόθεν ἐραίμαν καλῶν,
 δυνατὰ μαιόμενος ἐν ἀλικίᾳ.
 τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτάτῳ
 ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, μέμφομ' αἴσαν τυραννίδων·
 ξυναῖσι δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖς τέταμαι· φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται.

May I be passionate for the beautiful that comes from the god, striving for what is possible in my life. In politics I find that moderation flourishes

³⁰ Maloney (n.28) 179.

with longer happiness; I find fault with the destiny of tyrants. I am intent on shared excellences, and the envious are kept off (51-54).

As David Young has shown, the content of these lines reflects conventional views of moderation and is not meant to be a comment on any particular political event.³¹ The stance of the poet, as in *Nem.* 8, is to express "model" behavior; but again with particular reference to the myth in the poem, which describes the deaths of Agamemnon and Cassandra, and the *phthonos* that attaches to *olbos* (29).³² The lines that follow this I-statement could be taken simply as advice to the victor: "But if one grasps the top oneself in calm and so escapes dread insolence, he might come to a more beautiful end in dark death, and offer to his descendants the highest joy of good fame" (55-58). But the lines apply also to the poet because his professional powers expose him to like dangers; he can be "driven off course" (38-40); in the myth "love-making at night in another's bed *led* [Clytemnestra] *astray*" (πάραγον, 24). Where in the myth Clytemnestra acts alone and for selfish purposes, Orestes is saved by another, the nurse Arsinoe, and comes to a family friend, Strophius; the poet too calls on his friends and the Muse to help him get back on course. The first-person statement also emphasizes the need for divine support and the importance of cooperation: "I am passionate for the beautiful that comes *from the god*" (Orestes kills "*with Ares*" 36): "I am intent on *shared* excellences, and the envious are kept off."

On the basis of these passages, we can expect to find in the I-statements of other odes a fictional autobiography: the poet (individual) set apart from others, successful but in danger of failing, in a position to influence for the better the course of others' lives. With these characteristics in mind, I would like to reconsider the long first-person statement in that most controversial ode, *Nem.* 7. So much is said in this ode about poetry and the "I" speaks so defensively that scholars since antiquity have been troubled by its tone.³³ For example, "when he is

³¹ D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 9; Leiden 1968) 12-20; J. Péron, "Le thème du φθόνος dans la XI^e Pythique de Pindare," *REA* 79 (1976-77) 65-84. Cf. M. I. Finley, "Sparta," in *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York 1974) 174.

³² Lefkowitz, "Poet as Hero" (n.4) 462; Carey, "*Nem.* 8" (n.24) 34; the stance of poet as a victor who is envied by others helps justify placing a full stop after ἀμύγονται with Snell-Maehler (as above), rather than continuing with ἄτρε or even ἄτρε (assuming the masc. φθονερός is a copyist's mistake) cf. Péron, "*Pyth.* 11" (n.31) 72-81.

³³ G. M. Kirkwood, "Nemean 7 and the Theme of Vicissitude in Pindar," in *Poetry and Poetics from Ancient Greece to the Renaissance* (Festschrift J. Hutton; Ithaca 1975) 56.

near, the Achaean who lives above the Ionian sea shall find no fault with me; I trust in his friendship" (64-65). These lines were endowed by the scholia with political significance:³⁴

In general he wants to apologize for Neoptolemus' death to the Aeginetans. For they criticized Pindar, because in writing his *Paean* for the Delphians he said that Neoptolemos was killed when he was fighting with the neighbors over the allotted honors. In making something of a defense, Pindar countered with this, that he did not say that the battle with Neoptolemos was over money, but about the customary honors for the Delphians (94a, III p. 129 Dr).

This scholium incorporates the substance of an interpretation by the Alexandrian scholar Aristodemus, which is referred to in the scholium on the poem's final lines about the poet's treatment of Neoptolemus: "my heart will never say that I have savaged Neoptolemus with ruthless words" (102-104).³⁵

Discovery of the papyrus of the *Paean* with the very line about Neoptolemus' fight paraphrased in the scholia has seemed to confirm Aristodemus' interpretation.³⁶ But I would agree with Bundy that the discovery of the text they cite only shows that the ancient scholars had a copy of the *Paean* to refer to.³⁷ I would suggest that here, as elsewhere, the scholiasts have invented an anecdote to explain the sudden puzzling reference "to a Greek above the Ionian Sea" and to the notion of *blaming*, and of *proxenia*.³⁸ The same kind of political anecdote accompanies Pindar's remarkable praise for Athens in a dithyramb: "when [Pindar] said that Athens was 'the bulwark of Hellas,' he was fined a thousand drachmas by the Thebans, which the Athenians paid on his behalf" (*Vit. Pind.* I pp. 1-2 Dr). Throughout the odes intense emotion in first-person statements is explained in the scholia by reference to political events, some more likely than others.³⁹

Suppose that we are justified in disregarding this ancient hypothesis, that Pindar's intent in *Nem.* 7 was to apologize for what he said about

³⁴ See esp. Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 135. With the exception of 11.71-101 translations of *Nem.* 7 are Lloyd-Jones's.

³⁵ Ibid. 128, esp. n.109; 135-136.

³⁶ Ibid. 128, Kirkwood (n.33) 57-59; L. Woodbury, "Neoptolemus at Delphi," *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 133.

³⁷ Bundy (n.5) I 4 n.14.

³⁸ See esp. M. B. Wallace, "Early Greek Proxenoï," *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 205-206. Euripides' poetry was used by biographers as "documentation" for his exile; see M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides *Vita*," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 195, 198.

³⁹ Lefkowitz, "Influential Fictions" (n.3) 175-178; M. Willcock, *JHS* 99 (1979) 172.

Neoptolemus in the *Paean*. We still must find some explanation for the concentration in *Nem.* 7 on the role of the poet, and for the defensive manner in which the "I" speaks about himself. I suggest that again we look within the poem for answers. The myth concludes with a reference to *koros* (v. 52), a standard type of transition, that calls attention to the poet's powers and his ability to understand *kairos*: "I make bold to say this, a road of words from home, with power in respect to shining deeds; but in every action rest is sweet; we grow tired even of honey and of the pleasant flowers of Aphrodite."⁴⁰ But as in *Pyth.* 11.37, "why have I been whirled down the cross-roads where ways exchange," there is no specific reference in the statement of transition to anything he has said in the myth. Suggesting what could have gone wrong if he had *continued* reminds the audience of the courage (*θρασύ μοι*) and control a poet must have to make things go right.

The next lines also express a conventional thought, the difference in allotment of good fortune in human life, here especially appropriate because the poem began with reference to the birth goddess Eileithuia, and the different fates to which men are born (1-6)⁴¹

φυᾶ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες,
ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἐν' ἀδύνατον
εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω
εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον
ᾤρεξε. Θεαρίων, τὴν δ' εὐκλότα καιρὸν ὄλβου
δίδωσι, τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀρομένῳ
σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.

By nature we differ from each other in our lives; one man has one lot, one another, and for one man to win success gathering up all manner of human fortune, is impossible; I do not know of one to whom fate has granted in permanence this consummation. But to you, Thearion, she gives a fitting moment of happiness; you have found the courage to do great things and she has not harmed your judgment (54-60).

Pindar had already spoken earlier in the ode (17) of need for understanding of great achievement: "the wise know when the third wind is coming, and avarice does not distort their judgment."⁴² At the end of *Nem.* 8 the poet expresses his view on appropriate general behavior in terms suited to the emphasis on speech in that ode, which told of the lies about Ajax: "some ask for gold, others for boundless land, I, when

⁴⁰ Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 134; cf. S. Fogelmark, *AC* 45 (1976) 121-132.

⁴¹ Ibid. 134.

⁴² Ibid. 130.

I have pleased my fellow citizens, to cover my limbs with earth, praising the praiseworthy, sowing blame on wrongdoers" (37-39).

Expression of friendship concludes the triad: "I am your friend, keeping off dark reproach, as though by bringing streams of water to the man I honor I shall praise true glory; and for the noble the reward is fitting."⁴³ Reference to envy and reproach is conventional in the odes; Bacchylides concludes *Ode 5* by speaking of the poet's obligation to defend the victor: "for the sake of truth one must praise the victor, pushing envy aside with both hands, if a mortal succeed."⁴⁴ In both cases the poet in speaking the truth portrays himself as *combatant*.

The fourth triad opens with continued reference to hostility:

ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεται μ' ἀνὴρ
 Ἴονίᾱς ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς οἰκέων· καὶ προξενία πέποιθ'. ἐν τε δαμόταις
 ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλὼν,
 βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις, ὃ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων
 ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι. μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ,
 εἰ πὰρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρον ἐννέπων.

When he is near, the Achaean who lives above the Ionian sea shall find no fault with me; I trust in his friendship; and among my fellow citizens my glance is clear. I do not overstep the mark, but draw all violence out of my path. May future time as it comes on be kind: and men shall learn whether I speak crooked words out of tune (65-69).

The Achaeans who live above, that is, near the Ionian sea could appropriately be the Molossians whom Neoptolemus ruled for a short time (38-39), or Neoptolemus himself, who could judge the accuracy of Pindar's song.⁴⁵ The poet first describes himself as a model citizen ("I trust . . . my glance is clear"), as in *Nem.* 8.35-36, "may I fasten on simple paths of life"; then as a victor carefully staying within the rules, "I do not overstep the mark." "Draw out of my path all violence" makes explicit the presence of danger; in *Isthm.* 8 the poet described grief as the stone of Tantalus hanging over one's head, and in *Nem.* 8 he made forgetfulness a wrestler and called spite a worker of evil. "Speaking crooked words out of tune" refers again to poetry's potential: "skill deceives, leading men aside with stories" (23).⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid. 134.

⁴⁴ Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 72. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 304-308, suggests that the term "*therapon* of the Muses" (Hes., *Th.* 100; Archil. 1.1-2 W) also expresses the notion of a poet as combatant.

⁴⁵ Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 135; Woodbury (n.36) 121-125.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hes., *Th.* 613; *Op.* 105; *Il.* 1.131; A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971) 79.

In the next lines the metaphors of athletic competition were apparently straightforward enough not to elicit allegorical interpretations from the ancient commentators.⁴⁷ But since some modern scholars have seen in them continued reference to Pindar's "apology," brief discussion is not out of order.⁴⁸ The stanza concludes with the "I" directly addressing the victor:

Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Ζώγενης, ἀπομνύω
μὴ τέρμα προβαῖς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραιον ὄρσαι
θοῶν γλώσσαν, ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων
αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντον, αἴθωνι πρὶν ἀλίῳ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.
εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τερπνὸν πλέον πεδέρχεται.
ἕα με· νικῶντί γε χάριν, εἴ τι πέραν ἀερθεῖς
ἀνέκραγον, οὐ τραχὺς εἰμι καταθέμεν.
εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν, ἀναβάλεο· Μοῖσά τοι
κολλᾷ χρυσόν, ἐν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἁμᾶ,
καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφέλοῖς' ἔέρσας.

Sogenes, you who are a Euxenid by clan, I swear that I have not stepped over the boundary and released my swift utterance like a bronze-cheeked javelin, which sent my neck and strength away without sweat from the wrestling contest, before my limbs were caught by the blazing sun. If there was pain, more joy comes after. Let me be; for a victor at least, if I in some way was lifted too high and was shouting out loud, I am not ungenerous in paying my gratitude; weaving crowns is light work; strike up a prelude; the Muse joins gold and white ivory together and the lily flower from the sea's dew, having taken it from under (70-79).

Again the poet compares himself to an athlete, and the subject, as at the end of the myth is judgment of what is appropriate.⁴⁹ His enthusiasm could cause him to fail, to throw his tongue (or what he says with it) out of bounds and so be disqualified and leave the contest without pain or success. Better to struggle and experience the greater joy of success afterwards.

The next lines also refer to the dangers of success, of joy so great that it is raised too high to be thrown right and thus becomes incoherent, like the javelin tongue. The metaphor, as often in Pindar, is stated very generally, so that it can convey more than one idea at a time.⁵⁰ Earlier in the ode Pindar had spoken of the poet's "winged skill" and

⁴⁷ *Nem.* 7.98a, 100a; III p. 130.14-15, 24-25 Dr.

⁴⁸ Kirkwood (n.33) 85-88; Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 135.

⁴⁹ C. P. Segal, "Two Agonistic Problems in Pindar," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 31-43; "Pindar's Seventh *Nemean*," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 439-440. Cf. the poet as athlete in *Pyth.* 1.42-45; Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 115.

⁵⁰ Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 40 n.41, 100 n.12.

of its power to mislead with falsehoods, as Homer did in the case of Odysseus, making what he said about him greater than what happened (20–23). Now in his concluding praise of the victor, ἀερόεις (“raised high,” 75) again suggests poetry’s power to give *more* than due praise. In *Od.* 14.463–466 ἀνέκραγον denotes a speech made under the influence of wine, “which makes a man sing loud and laugh tenderly, and gets him to dance and to send forth a speech which is better unspoken.”⁵¹ Then reference to victory crowns introduces a restatement of praise, in which song is described as an imaginary artifact, intricately joining gold, ivory, and sea foam:⁵² it represents a refinement of what earlier in the ode had been undifferentiated “streams of the Muses” (12) and unlimited praise for a friend “like streams of water” (62).

The ode concludes with comment first on Aeacus, the great hero of Aegina; his name provides an opportunity for the poet to mention once again his close ties to the victor, by calling the Aeginetan hero “ruler of the city for *my* (the poet’s) famous clan,” the Aegidae, with descendants in Aegina and Thebes.⁵³ After a prayer to Heracles, hero of Nemea, for the future, the poem ends with a first-person statement:⁵⁴

τὸ δ’ ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε φάσει κέαρ
 ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι
 ἔπεισι· ταῦτ’ αὖτ’ εἰς τετράκι τ’ ἀμπολεῖν
 ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοισιν ἄτε μαψυλάκας „Διὸς Κόρινθος”.

but my heart will never say that I have savaged Neoptolemus with ruthless words. To repeat the same things three or four times is futility, as when someone idly barks at children, “Corinth son of Zeus.” (102–105).

The tone of these lines is strikingly defensive; its language complex and allusive. It cannot be dismissed as simply an elaborate means of saying “I have praised Neoptolemus with fitting words.”⁵⁵ As Tugendhat said, the phrase “savage with ruthless words” is the one line in the poem that must refer directly to the story about Neoptolemus’ shameful death at Delphi.⁵⁶

But one need not assume that Pindar had in mind here specifically the version of the myth that he told in the *Paeon*; he is speaking here of the *myth*, not necessarily of any particular poem, and that is how we

⁵¹ Nagy (n.44) 236–237.

⁵² Segal, “Nem 7” (n.49) 468; Kirkwood (n.33) 88.

⁵³ Lefkowitz, “First Person” (n.1) 243 n.126.

⁵⁴ Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 135.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 136 on W. J. Slater, “Futures in Pindar,” *CQ* 19 (1969) 91–94.

⁵⁶ E. Tugendhat, “Zum Rechtfertigungsproblem in Pindars 7. Nemeischen Gedicht,” *Hermes* 88 (1960) 404; Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 128.

would interpret these lines if the scholia had never mentioned the *Paean*. Earlier in the ode the poet gives several examples of how poetry cheats by leading astray with stories (24): Homer's magnification of Odysseus; men's undervaluing of Ajax's achievement, which drove him to suicide, but brought him honor after his death; Pindar's own new version of Neoptolemus' death. Such ethical revision of myth is characteristic of Pindar, and we can see in his desire to offer in the Odes positive models of heroic behavior the first beginnings of what later became an important religious trend.⁵⁷

It is also characteristic of the poet to claim that in making these revisions he is himself performing a heroic act, involving great danger. In *Nem.* 8, before he begins to tell his new version of the contest between Ajax and Odysseus over Achilles' armor, he describes himself as an athlete posed for a contest, and then as a discoverer of new gold: "I stand on light feet and draw breath before I speak; for many things are said in many ways, and when a man finds new things to put to the touchstone as a test, there is every danger" (19-21). In *Nem.* 5 a tense first-person statement breaks off the narrative of how Peleus and Telamon killed their half-brother Phocus:

στάσομαι· οὐ τοι ἅπασα κερδίων
φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκῆς·
καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.
εἰ δ' ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινῆσαι
πόλεμον δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι
αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ὄρμᾶν ἐλαφράν·
καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί.

I shall stop here. For not every truth is more advantageous when she shows her face directly, and often silence is the wisest plan a man can think up. But if it has seemed best to praise wealth, or might of hands or iron war, let someone dig me from here a long jumping pit; I have light spring in my knees; eagles fly even beyond the sea" (16-21).

By breaking off his account Pindar shows his respect for his patrons.⁵⁸ Since he might have displayed even greater delicacy by not mentioning the story in the first place, his purpose in bringing the story up must be what he implies, to show that he knows the destructive side of heroism, and he wishes to emphasize instead Peleus' constructive action.⁵⁹ As in *Nem.* 8, the first-person statement in *Nem.* 5 describes the poet's role as moral teacher, but again in a way that sets him apart

⁵⁷ Lefkowitz, "Poet as Hero" (n.4) 462-463.

⁵⁸ Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 137.

⁵⁹ Lefkowitz, "First Person" (n.1) 200; C. P. Segal, "Arrest and Movement: Pindar's Fifth Nemean," *Hermes* 102 (1974) 401; Bernardini (n.29) 124-125.

from others, and makes it appear as if his task required special control and strength.

To return to the end of *Nem.* 7: the statement "my heart will never say that I have savaged Neoptolemus with ruthless words," as in *Nem.* 5, alludes to what the poet has in his power to say, but in fact will never say because it would be unethical. In the ode he told the story of Neoptolemus' death in a way that concealed the hero's greed, instead of following the traditional version where Apollo kills him as he fought with the attendants over his share of the honors.⁶⁰ The dramatic "savage with ruthless words" denotes the sort of violence he did not describe in the ode.⁶¹ In effect he portrays himself as the righteous hero he wants Neoptolemus to be in the myth: "it was to bring help (as an ally) that I came to Delphi" (33-34); "for justice, whose name is beautiful, three words will be enough" (48).⁶² "Dragging with ruthless words," like a dog worrying a corpse, is the antithesis of what he said earlier about his role as a poet, "drawing out of my path all violence"⁶³ "Barking at children," continues the metaphor, but "idly" shifts the emphasis back to the poet's understanding of timing, *kairos*. After the elaborate diction of previous first-person statements, the concluding proverb about Corinthos son of Zeus, may strike us as inappropriately trivial. But *Nem.* 8 also ends with a proverb about the strife between Adrastus and the Cadmeans and *Isthm.* 8 with the homely "did not hide his youth beneath a hole."⁶⁴ All odes end simply in comparison to the complexity with which they began.⁶⁵

I have tried to show that in long first-person statements emphasis on danger, the poet's isolation, and dramatic shifts of metaphor are to be expected and that therefore in *Nem.* 7, as in other odes, no external explanations need be sought. This is not to say that the odes could not have been influenced by contemporary events; just that the poet himself will tell us directly if they are: "the stone of Tantalus upon our heads, a burden unbearable for Greece" (*Isthm.* 8.10-11).⁶⁶ Pindar

⁶⁰ Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 131.

⁶¹ Cf. Priam's death in Q. S. 13.213-243, drawing on *Il.* 22.66, and the cynic Cynulcus' name in Ath.

⁶² The poet's heroic stance suggests *μόλον* (33) should be read; cf. Lloyd-Jones (n.8) 131-132; Woodbury (n.36) 103-110.

⁶³ Cf. *Il.* 5.513, 16.781.

⁶⁴ Cf. Young, "Isthm. 8" (n.18).

⁶⁵ Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 31-32.

⁶⁶ *Pyth.* 8.98, "bring back with a free voyage" may refer to Aegina's subjection to Athens; M. R. Lefkowitz, "Pindar's Pythian 8," *CJ* 72 (1977), 218. On possible historical allusions in the odes, see esp. H. M. Lee, "The 'Historical' Bundy," *CW* 72 (1978) 66.

may have had *Paean* 6 in mind when he wrote *Nem.* 7 but if he did it was because the *Paean* relates the traditional version of the myth, and not because anyone actually complained to him about it. It may be tempting to take the longer first-person statements in the odes literally, because the poet will appear harried and isolated, like Euripides in Satyrus' biography, attacked by women and by dogs.⁶⁷ The notion of the lonely poet is appealing (especially to Pindar scholars).⁶⁸ But its consistency should warn us that it is not history, but fiction. The fiction, however, has a serious ethical function: it describes how one ought to respond to challenge and to success; the poet demonstrates by his own actions how the victor, his family, the friends should respond to the occasion of his victory.

I will conclude by offering an expanded definition of the "I" in the victory ode. Previous studies, including my own, have concentrated on the most explicit statements of the poet's duty. For example, in *Nem.* 7, one might select 61 ff as an expression of *xenia*; "I am your friend, keeping off dark reproach," and to see in the references to light and to water expression of the poet's traditional power to bring fame.⁶⁹ But there is much else besides that is just as characteristic, though less explicit, because these recurrent ideas tend to be expressed *negatively*, and in metaphors that vary from ode to ode. In these same lines the poet implies that he is *defending* (ἀπέρχων) the victor against verbal attack; the emphatic ξεινός εἰμι suggests that friendship is something a victor cannot count on. In having the courage to express his friendship the poet establishes himself as behaving in a manner superior to ordinary men, so that he can go on to use his own conduct as positive example:

When he is near the Achaean who lives above the Ionian sea shall find no fault with me; I trust in his friendship; and among my fellow citizens my glance is clear; I do not overstep the mark, but draw all violence out of my path (64-67).

The basic function of these lines is to reaffirm that the poet speaks the truth, but they do so in a way that makes explicit that opportunity always exists for blame (οὐ μέμψεται), distrust (πέποιθα), slander (ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν), and violence (βίαία πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις). Again the poet sets himself apart from other men and endows himself with the physical and moral courage to avoid wrongdoing.

⁶⁷ Lefkowitz, "Euripides *Vita*" (n.38) 195 n.32; "Poet as Hero" (n.4) 466.

⁶⁸ Lefkowitz, "Pindar's Lives" (n.6) 84-85.

⁶⁹ Cf. the instances catalogued in H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt 1935; reissue Utrecht 1978) 33-45.

The other distinguishing characteristic of the first-person statement in *Nem.* 7 is its proportional length; the "I" in this ode commands our attention in a way Homer never does, even in *Il.* 16 when he addresses Patroclus directly, thus expressing at once his omniscience and his sympathy for the character he portrays. Bacchylides' "I" makes for itself the same claims of strength and isolation, employing metaphors of light and flying, but never with the sudden shifts of metaphors and complex restatement that we have seen again and again in Pindar's odes.⁷⁰ Perhaps, more than anything else, it is the prominence of the "I" that keeps us interested in Pindar's poetry. But if, as I have argued, the "I" is not historical, what can we learn from it? I would suggest that Pindar found in the abstract, impersonal nature of the poet's traditional first-person statement an opportunity to describe for his audience the general meaning of a victor's achievement.

Pyth. 8, Pindar's last securely dated ode, provides one final illustration of the use of this model "I." In *Pyth.* 8 the poet's art, the victor's success, and the course of human life are described in terms that reflect on one another. In the transition to the myth, Pindar makes the customary reference to poetic *kairos*, and describes his song with the epic metaphor of wings:⁷¹

εἰμὶ δ' ἄσυχλος ἀναθέμεν
 πᾶσαν μακραγορίαν
 λύρα τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῶ,
 μὴ κόρος ἔλθῶν κνίσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον
 ἵτω τεδὸν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν,
 ἐμᾶ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾶ.

I am without leisure to set up every long speech, with my lyre and gentle voice, lest satiety come and irritate. The song that is running at my feet, my debt to you, boy, may it go forth newest of good achievements, winged on account of my skill (29-34).

But one can also discern in this statement the presence of danger, "lest satiety come and irritate." This is especially true because the opening lines have described the violent combat between Calm and her angry (κότον) enemies. The song itself, curiously "running" at the poet's feet, can only momentarily be "winged."⁷² A sense of transience and threat recurs in the first-person statement that concludes the myth: "Lord, with willing mind I pray that you look along some harmony

⁷⁰ Lefkowitz, "Pindar's Lives" (n.6) 91-93; *The Victory Ode* (n.8) 141-142.

⁷¹ Lefkowitz, "Pyth. 8" (n.66) 129.

⁷² Ibid. 212.

about each event, however many times I return" (67-69). The significance of the indefinite "some harmony," and "however many times I return" becomes clearer by the end of the ode, when the poet describes the course of human fate in the language he has used to describe the victor's winning wrestling match:

ὁ δὲ καλὸν τι νέον λαχὼν
 ἄβρότατος ἔπι μεγάλας
 ἐξ' ἐλπίδος πέταται
 ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, ἔχων
 κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν. ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν
 τὸ τερπνὸν αὖξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
 ἀποτρόπῳ γνώμῃ σεσεισμένον.

The man who gains a beautiful new thing on great luxury flies by his hope on his winged manliness and has ambition stronger than wealth. In a short time man's pleasure grows great; just so it falls to the ground, shaken by a ruthless intention (92-98).

The metaphor of wings that previously described song (νέωτατον καλῶν . . . ποτανόν) now describes man's attitude toward achievement (καλὸν νέον, 88). The threat implicit in "satiety irritating" and in the uncertainty of the god's "willing mind" (67) has now become explicit, "with ruthless intention"; the victor himself "falls on four bodies from high above, *thinking evil thoughts*" (81-82).⁷³ Pindar suggests in these lines that he feels about his poetry what the victor should feel about the importance and fragility of his victory. Perhaps this is primarily as an affirmation of friendship, but it also endows the victor's violent work (κακὰ φρονέων) with some of the poet's ethical aims and emotional sensitivity. *Pyth.* 8 would be far less interesting if the poet did not portray the victor's achievement in terms of his understanding of his own art.⁷⁴

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⁷³ Ibid. 215; cf. the description of the athlete's intention in *Nem.* 4. 39-40, 96.

⁷⁴ This article is based on a lecture presented at the University of Lille in March 1979. I owe thanks once again for many specific improvements to H. Lloyd-Jones, C. W. Macleod, G. Nagy, F. J. Nisetich.

SESOSTRIS AND HERODOTUS' AUTOPSY OF THRACE, COLCHIS, INLAND ASIA MINOR, AND THE LEVANT

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INTRODUCTION

IN the first centuries B.C. and A.D. the Graeco-Roman tradition of Diodorus (i.53.1 ff), Strabo (xvi.4.4, C 769), Plutarch (*Moralia* 360 B), and Josephus (*Contra Apionem* i.98 ff, ii.132, *Antiquities* viii.253, 260) knew of a great Egyptian national hero named Sesostris who was celebrated for the extent of his conquests. The orthodox view of Sesostris holds that the Egyptians came to glorify him as a national hero in a time of national opposition to the Persian rule.¹ But that Sesostris does not appear in the Egyptian record. The extant beginning of his tradition is that of Herodotus in the mid-fifth century B.C., who purports to tell the Egyptian priests' version of Sesostris and to support at least some of their claims for the great king from personal experience (ii.102 ff, 137). Thus we have come to believe that Herodotus sailed the coast of Palestinian Syria and traveled inland from Ephesus, Smyrna, and Phocaea in Asia Minor largely on the basis of his story of Sesostris, and Sesostris also determines our attitude toward Herodotus' autopsy of Thrace, Colchis, and the inland Levant and confirms our assumption of Herodotus' travels in Egypt and the Black Sea.²

I want to thank the following distinguished experts for their encouragement and consultation. They are in no way responsible for the use that I have made of it, nor are they necessarily committed to any of my conclusions: Emmanuel Laroche of the French Institute of Archaeology; Hans Güterbock of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute; George Hanfmann of the Fogg Museum and Sardis Expedition at Harvard; and Clive Foss of the University of Massachusetts at Boston. I also want to thank Professor Ernst Badian of Harvard for his very kind reading and criticism of the first draft. He is not at all responsible for errors of judgment and execution that remain.

¹ Cf., e.g., Martin Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford 1938) 13 ff, cf. Kurt Lange, *Sesostris: Ein ägyptischer König in Mythos, Geschichte, und Kunst* (Munich 1954) 7 ff; M. Malaise, "Sésostris: Pharaon de légende et d'histoire," *CdE* 41 (1966) 244-272; A. B. Lloyd, *JEA* 63 (1977) 143 n.7, 152, 154. Cf. Strabo, e.g., i.2.31, C 38, i.3.21, C 61.

² Cf., e.g., Felix Jacoby, *RE Supp.* ii.264; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford 1912; corr. ed. 1928) i.20 (hereafter HW); *ad loc.* below.

Does Herodotus really claim that he went to Thrace, Colchis, and the Sesostriis monuments, as they have been called, of Asia Minor and the Levant, and if so, did he?

King Sesostriis in context. At the beginning of ch. 99 in Book II, Herodotus tells us that up to this point it has been his own eyesight and judgment and *historiē* that has told us all these things, but that henceforth he will proceed to tell us Egyptian *logoi* according to what he has heard. He seems to add, almost as an afterthought, that there will also be something of his own eyesight in addition (προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσι τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιός).

Herodotus goes on to tell us the Priests' story of King Min, the first king of Egypt, who dammed off Memphis by casting up the southern bend of the Nile about a hundred stades up river, drying up the ancient course of it and channeling the river so as to flow through the middle of the mountains. "Even now," says Herodotus, "this bend of the Nile as it flows diverted is held under strong guard by the Persians, and hedged in every year. For if the river ever wanted to break through it and overflow, there is a danger that all Memphis would be overwhelmed." When the cut-off part of the river became dry land, Min founded Memphis in it. "For even Memphis," Herodotus adds, "is in the narrow part of Egypt." Outside the city he dug a lake around it to the north and west because the Nile encloses the city to the east, and next he established the great temple of Hephaestus in it (ii.99).

Herodotus says that after this the priests recited the names of 330 kings from a *byblos*. "In so many generations of men there were 18 Ethiopian kings and one native woman, and all the others were Egyptian men. The name of the woman who reigned was the same as that of the Babylonian queen, Nitocris." Herodotus goes on to tell the priests' story of how she avenged her royal brother, whom the Egyptians had slain while he ruled them, before they gave her the sovereignty. She destroyed many of them by guile. She built a great underground chamber and pretended to consecrate it with a great banquet of her brother's murderers, only to turn the river in on them through a great secret channel and throw herself into a chamber full of ashes in order to go unpunished (ii.100).

Apart from Nitocris, the priests told of no great works by any of the other kings, except for Moeris, the last of them, who left the northern *propylaia* of the temple of Hephaestus as a memorial, dug a lake, and built pyramids in it (ii.101). Having passed over them, therefore, Herodotus says that he will make note of the next king after them, whose name was Sesostriis.

What kind of introduction to King Sesostris have we? Perhaps we can take note of four major characteristics.

First, the inspiration seems Mesopotamian and not Egyptian. Min's dykes and diversions to keep the river from flooding the plain of Memphis are like those of Herodotus' queen Semiramis of Babylon in the previous book (i.184), and A. W. Lawrence points out that city building on land reclaimed from a river was a Mesopotamian phenomenon. The Assyrians built part of Nineveh that way. The name of Herodotus' Egyptian queen Nitocris may be reminiscent of the Egyptian Nitokerti in the VIth and XXVIth Dynasties,³ but it is also that of Herodotus' own second Babylonian queen, as Herodotus points out (i.185, ii.100). Egyptian Nitocris' sumptuous underground chamber and secret channel to the river are like those of Sardanapallus, the king of Nineveh (ii.150). And death by suffocation with ashes belongs to the eastern fertile crescent and is not recorded in Egyptian documents.⁴ King Moeris' great artificial lake and pyramids are like the great artificial lake and bridge of Herodotus' Babylonian queen Nitocris, who also built mighty diversions of the river, like the Egyptian king Min (i.185 ff). These stories could conceivably belong to some kind of Mesopotamian influence on Egypt in the time of the Assyrian occupation, but we have no evidence of such in the Egyptian record.⁵ We do know of the still controversial *Assyrioi logoi*, as Drews and von Fritz remind us, that Herodotus promises to tell and then seems to forget (i.106, 184).⁶

Second, even apart from the question of *Assyrioi logoi*, the substance and emphasis of this narrative is Greek. The chronology of it is Greek. The priests' chronicle belongs to the temple of a god named Hephaestus (ii.3.1, 4.2 f, 99.1 ff). It includes a written account, with a reckoning in years, of the Greek gods who first ruled Egypt, including Heracles (ii.4.2, 144 f). It includes 341 high priests and 341 kings who presided over Egypt for 341 generations after them, an equation which points to the parallel king-lists of Ionian chronology (ii.142.1). Its *byblos* of 330 Kings in 330 generations seems related to the Theban priests' 345 wooden colossi that showed up Hecataeus' attempt to connect his genealogy to a god in the sixteenth generation (ii.100.1, 101.1, 143). The Theban priests

³ Cf., e.g., Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford 1961) 102, 354 f.

⁴ Cf. e.g., A. W. Lawrence, *Herodotus* (London 1935) 198 f; Gardiner (above, n.3) 102, 354 f.

⁵ Cf., e.g., Gardiner (above, n.3) 345 ff.

⁶ Robert Drews, "Herodotus' Other Logoi," *AJP* xci (1970) 181 ff, and *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, (Washington, D.C., and Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 92-95, with notes and bibliography; Kurt von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin 1967) i.1.445.

displayed 345 wooden colossi to Hecataeus and to Herodotus, as if they were together,⁷ in a temple and city that could not possibly have kept records from the beginning of Egyptian history in the Old Kingdom because they did not exist till the Middle Kingdom.⁸ It includes a king named Proteus in Greek who belongs to the story of Helen, Alexander, Menelaus, and the Trojan War (ii.112 ff), to say nothing of the *Odyssey* (iv.365 ff) and Stesichorus (fr. 193.16).

The emphasis on engineering is also Greek. Dams and river diversions, man-made lakes and pyramids, temples and underground chambers, all are reminiscent of Polycrates' Samian technology rather than the values and emphasis of the Egyptians (cf. iii.39, 60).

More important, King Min's diversion of the river from above so as to make it flow around the site of Memphis in the old dried-up channel is very much like Thales of Miletus' moon-shaped, semicircular diversion of the river Halys around Croesus' army from above so they could cross it in the absence of bridges. According to Herodotus, "Some even say that the ancient channel of the river was altogether dried up" (i.75).

Herodotus is supposed to be telling Egyptian *logoi* according to what he heard from the Egyptian priests, but the face value of this narrative seems difficult to accept. There is no evidence of Egyptian priests who took any notice of the pre-Ptolemaic Greeks.⁹ Herodotus' commentators have been uneasy over the nature of this chronicle for at least 200 years, from Pierre Larcher in the eighteenth century to Friedrich Oertel and Detlev Fehling in the 1970s.¹⁰ We can talk, if we like, of the intellectual impact of the Greek travelers in Egypt and the Greek varnish Herodotus will have given his Egyptian tradition, just as Wiedemann did in 1890 and A. B. Lloyd did in 1975, but there is no Egyptian corroboration of Herodotus' fifth-century Egyptians with Greek learning and values.¹¹ And it is difficult to understand how Egyptians of any description could

⁷ Cf., e.g., Friedrich Oertel, *Herodots Ägyptischer Logos und die Glaubwürdigkeit Herodots* (Bonn 1970) 7.

⁸ Cf., e.g., Detlev Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin 1971) 46 f with notes, 58, and 61.

⁹ Cf., e.g., J. G. Milne, *JEA* xiv (1928) 226 ff, "Egyptian Nationalism under Greek and Roman Rule."

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., P. H. Larcher, new ed. with corr. and add. by W. D. Cooley, *Comments on the History of Herodotus* (London 1844) i.373; Oertel (above, n.7) e.g. 4 ff; Fehling (above, n.8), e.g. 54 ff.

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Alfred Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen* (Leipzig 1890) 393; J. G. Milne (above, n.9) 226 ff; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Introduction* (Leiden 1975) 109.

tell a Greek foreigner about 328 Egyptian kings who did and built nothing worth mentioning.¹²

Third, if Herodotus' story of the early monarchs from Min to Moeris is really Greek, it is also punctuated with what purport to be additions to an Egyptian narrative from his own experience, introduced with a promise of such. Herodotus' own Greek *opsis* and *gnōmē* and *historiē* have been speaking before chapter 99, but now he will tell us Egyptian *logoi* according to what he has heard. Yet he goes on to say that he will throw in something also of his own *opsis* — when he has just made a point of taking leave of a narrative from his own *opsis* by promising to tell Egyptian *logoi*. The explanation is that Herodotus adds *προσέσται δὲ ἀντοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψις* to some other Greek's written *historiē*. It is someone else who contrasted his eyewitness and judgment and *historiē* with forthcoming Egyptian *logoi*, and Herodotus who promises to throw in something of his own *opsis*.

Likewise Herodotus stops twice in the middle of an eventful and fast-moving account of Min and the founding of Memphis. Before the foundation of the city he confirms the story that Min diverted the river and dried up the old course of it for the site of Memphis: the Persians have to guard and maintain the diversion even now to keep Memphis from being deluged. And after the foundation he stops again, to confirm that "even Memphis is in the narrow part of Egypt," which confirmation takes us all the way back to chapter 8 and the double-axe shape of Egypt, one that pseudo-Scylax draws explicitly with its point at Memphis in a passage that almost certainly derives from Hecataeus of Miletus,¹³ one that "seemed to me" no more than 200 stades wide at its narrowest (ii.8.3). Herodotus stops yet again to promise that he will later show how many stades in circumference King Moeris' lake is and how large its pyramids are, all of which looks to his experience of Lake Moeris and the Labyrinth and their respective pyramids (ii.148 ff).

In brief, Herodotus pointedly interrupts the priests' Greek narrative of the early kings to inject his own confirmations of that narrative, or promises of them in the case of King Moeris, from his own experience — his own eyesight, or *opsis*.

Finally, we should note that the question of Herodotus' credibility, the question of whether we can really believe the face value of his

¹² Cf., e.g., Fehling (above, n.8) 58.

¹³ Scylax 106 = GGM i.81. Cf., e.g., Wiedemann (above, n.11) 67 f and *Philologus* xlv.1888.172 f, Felix Jacoby, *RE* viii.2679 f, and Oertel (above, n.7) 9, but also Lionel Pearson's caution, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939) 84 n.1.

narrative, has already emerged full blown, before we ever come to Sesostris and Herodotus' autopsy of the Sesostris monuments with the female pudenda on them. If Herodotus' early Egyptian kings are really patterned after those of the east, if Herodotus' early Egyptian chronology and emphasis are really Greek, it is difficult to believe Herodotus when he tells us that he heard them from Egyptian priests of Memphis.

Herodotus' Memphis is difficult. He tells of a city built on a peninsula, surrounded on three sides by the Nile and a great lake proceeding from it, so low that it was founded on a dried-up river bed, so low that it stands in continual and imminent peril of being overwhelmed by flood with nothing but dikes to save it from the Nile, so low that in the time of Min all Egypt below Lake Moeris was nothing but a marsh, seven days down river to the sea (ii.4). Where shall we look for that kind of Memphis? And if Herodotus knows that the Memphis of his time does not really look like that, it is hard to understand how he can tell us these stories without saying so. Here again, the problem has occupied scholars from the late eighteenth century onward.¹⁴

Sesostris and his empire. According to the priests, Sesostris set out with long ships from the Arabian gulf and first conquered the Red Sea dwellers till he had to turn back because of the shallows. Back in Egypt he gathered a great army, conquered every race on the mainland, and erected commemorative stelae in the lands of the vanquished. "But when he took their cities easily and without a battle," according to Herodotus, "he also inscribed the genitals of a woman, because he wanted to make it clear that they were cowards" (ii.102). Having passed from Asia into Europe, he conquered the Scythians and Thracians. "It seems to me," says Herodotus, "that the Egyptian army got to the Thracians and no farther. For in their land can be seen (*φαίνονται*) the stelae, still standing, but beyond the Thracians none at all." On the way back Sesostris left part of his army by the Phasis (ii.103). There Herodotus noticed how much the Colchians were like the Egyptians. He questioned both nations on the link between them. The Colchians and Egyptians too confirmed that the former were descended from Sesostris' army. Herodotus guessed as much, "partly because they are black-skinned and woolly-haired . . . but especially because alone of all men the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians have circumcised from the beginning." The Phoenicians and Palestinian Syrians acknowledged that they learned it from the Egyptians, the Thermodon-

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., P. H. Larcher (above, n.10) i.324 ff, John Kenrick, *The Egypt of Herodotus* (London 1841) 128 f.

Parthenius Syrians and Macrones that they learned it from the Colchians, and Herodotus does not know whether the Egyptians learned it from the Ethiopians or vice versa, while the Phoenicians who dealt with the Greeks no longer circumcised at all (ii.104). Also, the Colchians work their so-called Sardonian linen the same as the Egyptians do, and their language and way of life are Egyptian (ii.105). And, according to Herodotus, he himself saw Sesostris' victory stelae in Palestinian Syria, with the *grammata* and woman's genitals still on them. On certain Ionian roads Herodotus also saw two figures of Sesostris carved in stone with sacred Egyptian *grammata* across the breast, figures which were often taken for icons of Memnon, and which Herodotus proceeds to describe in detail (ii.106).

The priests said that when Sesostris was on his way home with his captives at Pelousian Daphnae, his brother, who had been ruling Egypt, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood around the house and set it on fire. On his wife's advice he stretched two of his six sons over the pyre and bridged the burning so as to save himself and the rest of the family (ii.107). Once he got back and took vengeance on his brother, Sesostris wrought great public works with his captives. They built stone additions to the temple of Hephaestus. They dug out all the canals in Egypt to bring drinking water to the inland cities, and raised up Egypt's cities with dikes, and so made Egypt horseless and wagonless (ii.108, 137.3 f). Sesostris divided all the land equally and taxed the Egyptians fairly on the basis of their allotments, and thereby learned geometry for them — "For the Greeks learned the sun-clock and the twelve parts of the day from the Babylonians" (ii.109). Sesostris was the only Egyptian king to rule Ethiopia, and the priest of Hephaestus would not let Darius erect a statue of himself before that of Sesostris, because Sesostris conquered all the nations conquered by Darius and the Scythians too, and Darius admitted as much (ii.110). Sesostris' son Pheros succeeded him (ii.111).

Sesostris and the east. What we must now ask is whether the story of Sesostris does not merely continue in the same vein as that of the previous monarchs. The inspiration is Mesopotamian. Sesostris invaded Scythia and Thrace from the east, as an Assyrian would have done. Darius marched through the Thracians on the way to the Scythians (iv.89, 93 ff, 99 ff), but Sesostris seems to have conquered the Scythians first and then the Thracians. These were the farthest people the Egyptian army reached. The stelae can be seen in their country but not beyond them (ii.103.1). The Scythians first, then the

Thracians, and no further. Sesostris' troops tarried on the river Phasis after the king turned back — on the way home. If he had not invaded from the east it would have been the Colchians who owned the greatest extent of his conquest rather than the Thracians, which means he started from the east. If an Egyptian conqueror had done so it would only have been after he conquered the Assyrians, but they are notably absent here, even though Herodotus alludes both to Memnon and Babylon (ii.106.5, 109.3).

Herodotus' Memnon, who is wrongly given credit for the Sesostris monuments by "different people," was an Assyrian sent by his king to help the Assyrian vassals of Troy according to Diodorus' *barbaroi*'s account of the royal archives (ii.106.5, Diodorus ii.22.1 ff). Herodotus believes that Memnon is an easterner because he calls Sousa "Memnonian" three times (v.53 f, vii.151). Sesostris' wife and six sons were acting an oriental role if they marched forth with the king on his conquests as Herodotus says they did (cf., e.g., vii.39, viii.103). Herodotus is thinking of the Assyrians when he tells us that the Greeks learned of the sunclock, sundial, and twelve-part day from the Babylonians (ii.109.3).

Specifically, Sesostris is reminiscent of both Assyrian queens. His great long blocks of stone for the temple of Hephaestus are like those of Nitocris for her Babylonian bridge and river diversion (ii.108, i.186, *λίθους περιμήκειας*). His canals are like Nitocris' canals in the land of Babylon (ii.108, 137, i.185, 193). Nitocris dramatically bridged the Euphrates, and Sesostris no less dramatically bridged the fire round his Pelousian Daphnae banquet house with his two sons in order to escape with his own life and the lives of the rest of his family (*οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, . . . ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν . . . ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο*, i.186.2 f, *τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείνοντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καίόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσῶζεσθαι* ii.107.2).

More important, Sesostris' attitude is like that of Nitocris. She also was superior to Darius. The dead Sesostris' triumph in the precedence of his statue is like the dead Nitocris' triumph over a greedy Darius, who violated her tomb only to find it empty of money. Sesostris' taunting victory *aidoia*, which preside over his cowardly conquered, are like Nitocris' taunting *grammata*, which preside over Babylon from the queen's own tomb above the most frequented gate of the city (ii.102, 106, 110, i.187). Originally it may have been an Assyrian queen with the taunts of a Nitocris and a special relationship with Aphrodite who ordered her own woman's genitals inscribed on the victory monuments of an eastern predecessor such as Memnon. Herodotus apparently breaks

his promise to tell us more of Semiramis in his *Assyrioi logoi* and only alludes to the Babylonian gates of Semiramis in passing (i.184, iii.155). But he does tell us that she, like Sesostris, built notable dikes throughout the plain (i.184, ii.137.4). Diodorus' Semiramis, wherever she derives from and whatever her relation to Herodotus' narrative, came from Ascalon, Syria, home of the oldest temple of Aphrodite and her peculiar "female sickness" (Hdt. i.105). From her husband Ninos she inherited all the lands of Herodotus' Sesostris monuments, Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, the Troad, and all the shores of the Pontus to Tanais among other lands. Like Sesostris, she built all her great works with the captive hordes of her empire, left inscribed memorials of herself in distant parts, and mounted a great seaborne invasion of India only to turn back after partial failure (ii.2.2 ff, 7.2 ff, 13.2 ff, 16.1 ff; cf. Strabo xvi.1.2, C 737). Like Sesostris, she subdued Ethiopia (Diodorus ii.14.4, Justin i.2.8). Here, at least, Diodorus' tradition may belong to sixth-century Ionia, Hecataeus of Miletus by way of Hecataeus of Abdera.¹⁵ Originally Herodotus may not have been thinking of *Egypt* as a flood plain of horses and wagons that were driven out by dikes and canals, but rather the Assyria of the lost *Assyrioi logoi*. Babylon's very walls were built to accomodate four-horse chariots (i.179). Semiramis built notable dikes over all the Babylonian plain to keep it from being flooded (i.184). Nitocris, on the other hand, dug her canals in the first place as a defense against the Medes (i.185). Cyrus attacked with his horses when he came to conquer Babylon (i.189). Darius' satrap kept 800 stallions and 16,000 mares, not counting war horses (i.192). Mules had an important part in the revolt and reconquest of Babylon in the time of Darius (iii.151, 153).

Eastern or Egyptian, Herodotus does not seem to understand that Sesostris' empire is greater than Darius' own eastern empire in every direction and not merely that of the Scythians. Darius never owned Arabia (ii.4 f, iii.88, 97) or the whole of India (iii.101), but Sesostris seems to have conquered all who dwelt on the Red Sea and indeed all Asia (ii.102.2, 103.1). The Persians may claim Asia for their own (i.4, ix.116), but Sesostris actually conquered it (cf., e.g., Diodorus i.53.5, 55.2, Strabo xvi.4.4, C 769). Likewise, according to Herodotus, Ethiopia and Colchis at the ends of the earth (iv.45) remained independent of Darius (iii.97), while Sesostris conquered both of them (ii.103 ff, 110), and the same is true of the Scythians and Thracians (ii.103, 110, iii.90, v.2, 10, vi.44). Darius never owned Libya at all (iii.91, 96,

¹⁵ Cf., e.g., Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I, A Commentary* (Leiden 1972) 9 ff.

iv.197, 204) but Sesostriis seems to have conquered it early in his career (ii.102.2 f, Diodorus i.53.6). If Darius finished Necho's original Suez canal (ii.158, iv.39), Sesostriis dug the first canals in Egypt (ii.108). If it took Persian generals, Phoenicians, Cypriotes, Cilicians, and Egyptians to conquer Miletus for Darius (vi.6 ff), the Sesostriis *typoi* in Ionia prove that Sesostriis had conquered the country by himself a long time ago (ii.106).

Sesostriis and the Greeks. If the inspiration of Herodotus' King Sesostriis is Mesopotamian, the substance and emphasis is Greek, Jason and the Argonauts and Aegyptus and Danaus.

His chronology points to Jason. Sesostriis was two generations before the Trojan War (ii.111 f) and Jason only one (i.2 f), so that Jason emulated the great Egyptian's wanderings and Colchian conquest a generation later (ii.103 ff). Sesostriis' long ships are reminiscent of the long ship that stole away Medea, the Argo, first of the long ships (Hdt. i.2, Diodorus i.41.1 ff). Sesostriis' wife is like Medea. After his Red Sea conquests Sesostriis set out again with an army, like the Argonauts (ii.102), but when he got back he was defenseless, with a nameless wife and six sons, and Herodotus rather lamely explains that he was taking her with him (ii.107). She displays the cruelty of Medea toward her children when she persuades the king to save herself and the rest of the family by burning alive two of their sons (ii.107).

Like Sesostriis, Jason also is supposed to have left monuments of his conquests in distant places (cf., e.g., Strabo xi.4.8, C 503, 13.10, C 526, 14.12, C 531 with xvi.4.4, C 769, 4.7, C 770). Even Herodotus' Colchian linen which is "called Sardonic by the Greeks"¹⁶ may reflect Hecataeus' account of Jason's western travels (cf., e.g., *FGH* 1 F 17 ff, Ap. Rh. iv.982 ff, 1227 ff, with Pindar, *Pyth.* iv.9 ff and Hdt. iv.179). Sesostriis was someone's earlier Egyptian model for Jason.

As for Sesostriis' nameless brother who took over the kingdom when he was abroad and tried to kill him when he got home, even in antiquity Josephus identified Sesostriis and his mysterious brother with Aegyptus and Danaus on the authority of Manethon (*Contra Apionem* i.97 ff, 231, ii.16). Sesostriis and his sons (ii.107), who took a nameless vengeance on this brother before building great public works at the head of a captive army, both seem appropriate to such an identification (ii.108). So does the location of Sesostriis' brother's murderous attempt. Pelousian

¹⁶ There seems no question about Herodotus' text because Pollux quotes it as it stands (v. 26). Aristophanes' Sardianic dye of *Acharnians* 112 (βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν) seems neither here nor there on the basis of evidence now in hand.

Daphnae was certainly a Greek name and probably the home of a Greek garrison before Amasis moved it to Memphis according to Herodotus (ii.30, 154). Also, when Sesostris' brother heaped wood around his banquet house and burned him out, his method was Greek. As if to avenge Aegyptus, the Egyptian-Spartan king Cleomenes (vi.53), the Heraclid descendant of an Argonaut, heaped wood around Danaid Argive captives, who seem to have been atoning anew for the Pelousian sin of a Danaus against a royal Aegyptus and his family (vi.80). We are reminded of the Cylonians' massacre of the Pythagoreans in Croton. The conspirators set the house of Milon on fire and burned them to death, all except the two youngest and strongest, who burst out and got away (Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, xxxv.249 = DK 4 A 16).

Sesostris' lofty emphasis on freedom and the value of striving for it is Ionian Greek (ii.102.4), and if the priests told of cowardly *cities* in such a connection, they must have been thinking of the Ionian Revolt (ii.102.5). Likewise the priests' emphasis on Sesostris' engineering is Ionian Greek, reminiscent of another great sea lord, Polycrates of Samos (iii.39, 60). Sesostris' stone temple of Hephaestus is reminiscent of the Samian Heraion even though Herodotus does not tell of its stone (i.70, ii.148, iii.123, iv.88, 152, ix.96). Sesostris' canals, like those of Nitocris and Cyrus on the way to Babylon (i.185, 189), run every which way, but they are not for military purposes, but rather for drinking water, like Polycrates' Samian tunnel and aqueduct (ii.108, iii.60). Sesostris' dikes in the plain are like Polycrates' harbor mole in the sea (ii.137, iii.60).

Sesostris' equal division of the land was a democratic Greek ideal at least from the time of Solon (cf., e.g., *Ath. Pol.* xi.2, xii.3, Plutarch, *Solon* xvi.1). It may well have been discussed by Thales or the fellow Milesians who talked about him, to judge from its context here and the traditional connection between Solon and Thales (cf., e.g., Hdt. i.29, Plutarch, *Solon* vi.1). Certainly Sesostris' land measurement is an explanation of the Egyptian origin of Thales' geometry, which he was supposed to have brought back from Egypt.¹⁷ And clearly Sesostris' fair taxation in accord with the amount of land actually retained is another Greek ideal that dates from the time of Solon and Thales (cf., e.g., Hdt. ii.177).

Here again, therefore, Herodotus is supposed to be telling Egyptian priests' Egyptian *logoi* but his story is really Greek.

¹⁷ Proclus, in *Euclidem* p. 65 = KR 69; cf. Hdt. ii.109 = KR 71, Diogenes Laertius i.27 = KR 81, Proclus, in *Euclidem* p. 352 = KR 82.

Sesostris and the face value of Herodotus' narrative. Herodotus' story is punctuated with additions to a previous narrative from his own experience, additions that can only make it difficult for us to accept the face value of his account.

In context, when Herodotus applies the word *φαίνονται* to the Thracians' Sesostris stelae, he probably purports to confirm the priests' account of Sesostris in Thrace from his own experience (*Herodotus in Scythia and Thrace* below). But the same is true of the Colchians. To Herodotus the Colchians *appear* to be Egyptians (*φαίνονται*), and he noticed it before he heard it from "others." When he began to think about it, he asked both, and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians the Colchians. Herodotus goes on to the Phoenicians, two kinds of Syrians, and the Macrones by way of adding to his confirmation. Not only are the Colchians black-skinned and woolly-haired like the Egyptians but they are also circumcised. The Phoenicians, Syrians, and Macrones learned their own circumcision from either the Egyptians or the Colchians. Herodotus also adds to his confirmation by way of the mysterious Sardonic linen: it is really Colchian no matter what the Greeks call it. All of this is strongly reminiscent of Herodotus' assertion that *anyone* with sense can see that the Egypt to which the Greeks sail is the gift of the river, at which point Herodotus goes on to add that the gift extends three days further up the river than the priests told him (ii.5, 10; Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 301).

By means of the Sesostris stelae in Palestinian Syria Herodotus confirms the priest's story of the female *aidoia* that Sesostris carved on his victory monuments in the lands of his cowardly subjects. By means of the Sesostris *typoi* in Ionia he confirms the extent of the great king's conquests and proves that Darius was not the first empire builder to conquer Ionia.

Herodotus' account of an Egypt without horses and wagons because of Sesostris' canals, which the inland Egyptians used for drinking water, seems to be the same kind of confirmation: you can see the results of Sesostris' forced-labor public works even now. Herodotus also seems to be confirming the priests' story of Sesostris from his own observation in the matter of the king's land allotments. "It seems to me that it was from *this* that geometry was discovered and made its way to Hellas." As for the sunclock, sundial, and twelve-division day, Herodotus seems to be correcting someone who claimed them for Sesostris when he gives them to the Babylonians in this context. (It is Anaximander who is supposed to have introduced them into Greece [Diogenes Laertius ii.1 f = *KR* 96, Suidas s.v. *Anaximandros* = *KR* 97, Agathemerus i.1 = *KR* 100]).

The face value of his narrative seems to require that Herodotus found Sesostris stelae in Thrace and looked for them beyond the Thracians; that Herodotus found black-skinned, woolly-haired, circumcised Egyptians in Colchis who remembered their descent from Sesostris' army; that Herodotus talked to the Phoenicians, two kinds of Syrians, and the Macrones about circumcision only to be told that all of them learned it from the Egyptians and their colonists in Colchis; that Herodotus found women's genitals carved on the Sesostris monuments of Palestine and inland Asia Minor; that Herodotus traveled the length and breadth of the country from the delta to Elephantine (ii.29) and could not find any horses or wagons in Egypt. Herodotus tells us that the canals of Egypt are for drinking water without stopping to qualify or specify when he knows of canals in connection with irrigation and navigation elsewhere (cf. i.193, ii.158, iv.39, 42, vii.24). He tells of inland cities that needed the canals' drinking water without further comment. His Greek narrative of Sesostris purports to derive from Egyptian priests. Here again, therefore, just as in the case of his introduction to Sesostris, we are driven back from the face value of Herodotus' narrative.

Such is the context of Herodotus' eastern travels in his account of Sesostris. In the light of that context, what is the evidence for such travels?

Herodotus in Scythia and Thrace. Whatever the value of his statement on its own, in context Herodotus does imply that he saw Sesostris stelae in Thrace, which is hardly a more exotic locale than many of the others in this story (ii.103.1, quoted above, *Sesostris and his empire*). Herodotus is in a position to confirm the priest's story. He saw the stelae, with or without *aidoia*. In the land of the Thracians they are there to be seen, but not beyond. Sayce thought that Herodotus claimed to have seen the Thracian stelae and so did How and Wells,¹⁸ even if Jacoby did not believe that much significance should be attached to the passage¹⁹ and even if Herodotus' use of the word *φαίνονται* is hardly conclusive.²⁰ Herodotus may even imply that he too traveled through Scythia on the way to Thrace and the stelae, in the wake of Sesostris, and that he

¹⁸ A. H. Sayce, *Herodotus Books I-III* (London 1883) 179; HW i.218.

¹⁹ Jacoby (above, n.2) 260.

²⁰ Herodotus does apply it to his own autopsy (e.g., ii.104, 106, 131, 148) but there are a great many cases where we can hardly be sure of the author's intent (e.g., i.93, ii.58, 79, 90, 93) and a great many others where the intimate acquaintance the word connotes seems nothing but part of a good story (e.g., iii.35, 69, 134, vi.9).

himself looked for the stelae even beyond. But it seems difficult to believe that Herodotus did in fact find any such stelae in Thrace, much less look out for them even beyond.

Herodotus in Colchis. Herodotus does not claim that he found evidence of Sesostris in Scythia, but he does claim extensive knowledge of Colchis by way of confirming the priests' story that Sesostris left part of his army there. There have been those who argued that Herodotus met his Colchians in Egypt or Asia Minor rather than Colchis and who therefore tried to assume that Herodotus never claimed to have reached Colchis. But when Herodotus tells us that he asked both nations about the link between them and goes on to relate what "the Colchians" and "the Egyptians" remembered, he means to convey that he questioned Colchians and Egyptians in general and on the spot.²¹ It seems difficult to believe that story.

As I have already argued,²² surely Herodotus is merely telling us what he heard, or read, rather than what he himself did. That impression seems confirmed in the matter of the circumcision that Herodotus defensively adds to the story. As in the case of Hecataeus' Egypt as the gift of the river (ii.5 = *FGH* 1 F 301), Herodotus himself saw that the Colchians were Egyptian, and the conclusive link was circumcision. "Others" had already told of Egyptian black skin and woolly hair among the Colchians, but Herodotus himself took note of their Egyptian circumcision and followed up his observation by questioning the Phoenicians and both kinds of Syrians and the Macrones.²³ Herodotus merely builds on his predecessors so as to claim a personal contribution in the matter of circumcision.

Whatever the context, Herodotus does not really know what the Colchians looked like or he would not call them black and woolly-haired. He would know if he really went to Colchis. We can probably account for his tradition in terms of Ionian geography, the Nile and the Phasis as the ends of the earth (iv.45; Pindar, *Isthmian* ii.41 f), linked in Ionian ethnology even as in geography by way of Ocean. If Herodotus' King Sesostris reached the Phasis by land with rebellious black Argonauts (ii.102 ff), Hecataeus of Miletus brought the Argonauts back from the Phasis through the Ocean into the Nile and down river into

²¹ See n.22 below. Breddin and Wiedemann are examples of the former view and Jacoby allows for the argument. Jacoby, Legrand, Pohlenz, Powell, and Myres assume the latter.

²² See *HSCP* lxxxii.45-62 and esp. 57-61 with nn.38-44.

²³ See below, *Herodotus among the circumcised Phoenicians, Palestinian and Thermodon Syrians, and Macrones.*

“our sea” (FGH 1 F 18a). Pindar also believed that the Colchians were black-faced (*Pyth.* iv.212), and Aeschylus’ Egyptians were black (*Pr.* 808, 851, *Supp.* 719). But they do not claim to have seen for themselves, and there is no evidence worthy of the name for Herodotus’ and Pindar’s Colchian negroes. Either Herodotus did go to Colchis and remained content to tell of traditional negroes that he and his audience wanted to find there or he never went to Colchis at all.

Herodotus among the circumcised Phoenicians, Palestinian and Thermodon Syrians, and Macrones. Much the same can be said of Herodotus’ circumcised Phoenicians, Palestinian and Black Sea Syrians, and Macrones. Given the circumcision of the Egyptians and their colonists the Colchians, we can explain them in terms of Ionian geographical proximity to Egypt and Colchis (cf., e.g., iii.85, vii.89 [Phoenicians and Palestinian Syrians], i.76, iii.90, iv.86, vii.72 [south-shore-Black-Sea Syrians], iii.94, vii.78 [southeast-Black-Sea Macrones]). In context Herodotus seems to imply that he himself questioned them on their circumcision *in situ* and got them to admit the Egyptian-Colchian origin of it.

That does not seem very likely on the face of it, and it is difficult to believe that Herodotus could have found all this circumcision even if he looked for it. As in the case of the Colchians, we have not the evidence by means of which to control Herodotus on the circumcision of the Black Sea Macrones and Thermodon-Parthenius Syrians round the corner from the Colchians. But we know from the Old Testament that the Phoenicians and Palestinian Syrians, at least, really ought not to have been circumcised (cf., e.g., *Gen.* xxxiv.14, *Ex.* xii.48, *Judges* xiv.3, xv.18, I *Sam.* xiv.6, xvii.26, xviii.25, 27, II *Sam.* i.20, *Isaiah* lii.1, *Ez.* xxviii.10, xxxiii.26, 30, and *Acts* xi.3 in the NT). Josephus believed that the Jews were the only people in Palestine who were circumcised and that therefore Herodotus must have been referring to them in this passage (*Contra Apionem* i.171). Moderns have tried to adopt this solution at least from the time of George Rawlinson in the mid-nineteenth century. But Pausanias, at least, refers to the Hebraioi *above* the Syrians (i.5.5). In any event it seems difficult to believe that the Jews told Herodotus or anyone else that they got their circumcision from the Egyptians. Christ, at least, said that it came from Moses and the fathers (*John* vii.22).

Herodotus and the Sesostris monument of Palestinian Syria. It is in such a context that we must view the problem of Herodotus’ Palestinian

Sesostris monument. It is largely on the basis of his claim to have seen this monument for himself that we have come to believe that Herodotus sailed the coast of Palestinian Syria.²⁴ Herodotus not only says that Sesostris inscribed the privy parts of a woman on his commemorative stelae in the lands of those whose cities he conquered easily (ii.102), but also that he himself saw Sesostris stelae in Palestinian Syria, replete with inscription and *aidoia* (ii.106.1).

Here again the difficulty is not in the story but in Herodotus' own experience of it. We can understand how Herodotus or his predecessor might tell it of a conqueror with a taunting sense of humor, especially if his conquests were based on those of a Nitocris or Semiramis. But it is difficult to believe that Herodotus found an Egyptian-looking Palestinian Sesostris monument with a woman's genitals carved on it.

Ordinarily we could not take that kind of story seriously. But in Egypt, at least,²⁵ "the hieroglyphic script regularly used the pudenda of the female (for the word 'woman') and the male genitals (particularly with the word 'husband') and crossed these two hieroglyphs to express the idea of coitus." Therefore we know what to look for. And at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb or Dog River, the ancient Lycus, some eight miles north of Beirut, there are three weathered Egyptian limestone stelae, on one of which "Rameses II" and "the year IV" could be discerned at one time. These are the stelae that we traditionally identify with Herodotus' Sesostris monument.²⁶ But (HW i.219) "there is no trace of the *aidoia* on them now, nor is it likely there ever was."

Professor Henrichs very kindly tells me that it is virtually impossible that Herodotus or any of his contemporaries ever saw a hieroglyphic sign that even remotely resembled the female vulva.²⁷ Whereas the Egyptians regularly used the phallus as a determinative of words for "ass," "bull," and "male," and the phallus with fluid issuing from it as a determinative in the words for "phallus" and "husband," they tended to avoid depicting the female organ and used a sign that has been called "a well full of water" as a substitute. According to Gardiner,

²⁴ Cf., e.g., Jacoby (above, n.2) 264, HW i.20.

²⁵ Jean Yoyotte, Georges Posener, eds., *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilisation* (London 1962) 260.

²⁶ Cf., e.g., Cooley's Larcher, Kenrick, Rawlinson, Stein, Sayce, Wiedemann, HW, Lawrence, Waddell, above, *ad loc.* On the reliefs, cf., e.g., C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin 1849-58) iii.197; F. H. Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr-el-Kelb* (Berlin and Leipzig 1922) 1 ff, pls. 1 ff.

²⁷ I owe the substance of this paragraph to Professor Henrichs of Harvard and I am very grateful to him for it.

even the combination of phallus and vulva occurs only in Old Kingdom texts.²⁸ A. R. Burn writes, "Herodotus could have seen hieroglyphic monuments here, but the 'genitals' are imaginary."²⁹

Herodotus could have mistaken something for the emblem he was looking for. There may have been relevant hieroglyphs on the Egyptian monuments of Herodotus' time that are now effaced. There may well have been monuments other than those of the Nahr-el-Kelb that we have not yet taken into account. We can find something to corroborate Herodotus' account. But apart from what Herodotus says there is also what he does not say. At Nahr-el-Kelb there is not merely one Egyptian relief but three, and beside them six Assyrian rockcarvings, two Babylonian, and a variety of later inscriptions.³⁰ There is not merely an Egyptian victory text³¹ but also one of the Assyrian conqueror Esarhaddon.³² If Herodotus saw Nahr-el-Kelb for himself, it seems difficult to understand why he does not mention any of these other monuments.

But Herodotus does not describe what he saw. He merely tries to confirm Sesostris' humorous exploits for himself. "Sesostris did carve the *puḍenda*, the figures were not those of Memnon, I know." It seems difficult to rely on that kind of evidence for proof of autopsy.

Herodotus and the inland of Asia Minor: the Kara Bel Sesostris monuments. Inland Asia Minor is closer to home for Herodotus than Palestinian Syria. But the face value of Herodotus' great Sesostris monuments in Ionia is nonetheless difficult, for all their proximity to Halicarnassus.

We traditionally identify Herodotus' monuments "on the way from the Ephesian land to Phocaea" and "on the way from Sardis to Smyrna" with those of the Kara Bel pass, some 25 miles inland of Smyrna and about three miles east-southeast of Nif. The following description and map are those of George E. Bean's archaeological guide to Aegean Turkey of 1966.³³

²⁸ Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London 1927, 3rd rev. ed. 1957-73) 492.

²⁹ Aubrey de Sélincourt, *Herodotus* (Penguin 1954; rev. ed. A. R. Burn, 1972) 168.

³⁰ Cf., e.g., A. W. Lawrence (above, n.4) 202.

³¹ That of Rameses II. Cf., e.g., *ARE* iii.297.

³² Cf., e.g., Luckenbill ii.582 ff.

³³ George E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (London 1966), p. 55. Elsewhere on Kara Bel cf., e.g., Kurt Bittel, *AO* xiii (1940) 181-193, and *MDOG* xcvi (1967) 5-23; J. M. Cook, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* vi.2 (1956) 59-65; Hans Güterbock, *IM* xvii (1967) 63-71, all with extensive notes and bibliography.

The other Hittite monument in the neighborhood of Smyrna [in addition to the two possible Niobes near Magnesia ad Sipylum to the north] is in the Karabel pass, which leads south from the Smyrna-Sardis road a little east of Kemalpassa (formerly Nif) to Dagkizilca and the country around Torbah and Tire. At a point just four miles from the main highway the road passes under an ornamental arch; immediately beyond this arch, some 70 feet above the road on the left, is a figure cut in low relief in a panel on the rock facing south. It is rather over life-size and represents a warrior holding in his right hand a bow and in his left a spear, wearing a short tunic and a conical cap. Between the head and the spear are some partially obliterated hieroglyphics, not easy to distinguish . . . This figure is similar in style and execution to the Hittite monuments of central Anatolia, and probably portrays a war-god. The Turks call it *Eti Baba*, the Hittite Father.

Ramsay and his followers notwithstanding, it seems likely that Kara Bel is also the home of Herodotus' second figure.

When the Karabel figure was first discovered by European scholars about 1840, it was at once recognized as one of these carvings of "Sesostris"; the other remained for some time a mystery, till in 1875 a second figure was found 200 yards below the first, by the left bank of the stream. This second figure was cut on a fallen rock (apparently after it fell) and though badly damaged was apparently similar to the other. It was afterwards thought to have disappeared, but has recently been rediscovered. Under these circumstances it is virtually certain that Herodotus was referring to these two figures, which stood one on either side of the road leading by the Karabel pass.

In the light of Bean's work, therefore, built on that of J. M. Cook,³⁴ there seems very little doubt on the identity of Herodotus' monuments. In context there can also be very little doubt on the nature of Herodotus' claim on them. In the light of his other Sesostris monuments he does claim to have seen them for himself. Herodotus says that in Ionia there are two figures of Sesostris carved in stone, one where people pass on the way from the Ephesian territory to Phocaea and the other on the way from Sardis to Smyrna. On either figure from shoulder to shoulder across the breast there run sacred Egyptian *grammata* carved into the stone saying, "I took possession of this land with my own shoulders." Who this Sesostris is and where he comes from he does not show there, but he has shown it somewhere else (with another inscription that Herodotus knows about perhaps?). Some of those who have seen them

³⁴ Cf., e.g., George Bean (above, n.33) 56, and below; Carl Humann, *AZ* xxxiii (1876) 51; A. H. Sayce, *JHS* i (1880) 85, *Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vii (1882) 268; Wiedemann (above, n.11) 415; J. M. Cook (above, n.33) 62 ff.

guess that they are icons of Memnon, but they are left a long way from the truth. Therefore Herodotus does not say that he saw the monuments in so many words, but (*HW* i.220) he certainly implies that he had done so and that he had traversed the roads. Thus Matzat claimed for Herodotus a trip from Ephesus to Phocaea and another from Sardis to Smyrna on the strength of this passage and Jacoby followed.³⁵

But we have known at least from the time of Sir William Ramsay at the end of the nineteenth century, who probably knew more about the ancient roads of Asia Minor than anyone else of his time, that virtually everything Herodotus says seems wrong.

Kara Bel is not on the road from Sardis to Smyrna but four miles south of it.³⁶

Lepsius . . . rejected the location on the Sardis-Smyrna road, which certainly never passed up the Karabel gorge.³⁷

Nor is it on any very obvious road from the land of Ephesus to Phocaea.³⁸

The very idea of defining a road as leading from Ephesus to Phocaea is as absurd as it would be to say that a monument was on the railway that leads from Scarborough to Lincoln. Moreover the natural way from Ephesus to Phocaea would be through Smyrna, and no one could possibly understand from Herodotus' words a road through the pass of Kara Bel, which involves a journey of quite double the distance.

Herodotus gives us to believe that his Sesostris figures are in two different places on two different roads.³⁹ But⁴⁰

the two figures are so close to one another that it is impossible any one could say they were on different roads, especially when they are in a single mountain-pass.

Herodotus gives us to believe that the two reliefs are similar to one

³⁵ Heinrich Matzat, *Hermes* vi (1872) 398 ff, Jacoby (above, n.2) 268 (1913); against, cf., e.g., Kurt Bittel, *AO* xiii (1940) 190, George Bean (above, n.33) 53.

³⁶ Cf., e.g., W. R. Ramsay, *JHS* ii (1881) 53; George Bean (above, n.33) 57.

³⁷ J. M. Cook (above, n.33) 62.

³⁸ W. R. Ramsay, *HGAM* p. 60.

³⁹ Thus George Bean (above, n.33) 57. J. M. Cook argues that *hekaterothi* means "on either hand" and *enthauta* refers to the single location of both figures (above, n.33) 63f. But *peri Ionien* in context really ought to mean more than one place in one *region* (see Powell's *Lexicon*, p. 300a). It seems unlikely that Cook would have argued in this vein if he had not been trying to fit Herodotus' words to Kara Bel. The translators and commentators tend to read two figures in two different places: thus, e.g., Valla in 1566, "B.R." in 1584, Gale in 1679, Laurent in 1827, Kenrick in 1841, Beloe in 1842, Cary in 1847, Rawlinson in 1858, Macaulay in 1890, Godley in 1920, Powell in 1949.

⁴⁰ W. R. Ramsay (above, n.36) 53.

another if not the same. But the second Kara Bel relief was badly defaced and defective even in the nineteenth century, and we have not any evidence worthy of the name apart from Herodotus' own words that it was in fact the same as the first or even similar in any but the most superficial details.⁴¹

Even the first relief is different from what Herodotus says it is. The spear is in the left hand and not the right as Herodotus says. The bow is in the right hand and not the left as Herodotus says. Herodotus says the inscription is right across the breast from one shoulder to the next but the extant hieroglyphics stand above the figure between the face and the top of the spear. As for the style and content, Herodotus' commentators have felt uneasy at least from the time of Blakesley in 1854.⁴²

Hence the dilemma. If Herodotus really saw the monuments of Kara Bel he was inaccurate in his location and description of them.⁴³ If he did not he was willing to pretend otherwise and his Sesostris monuments are based on what he heard or read rather than what he saw for himself.

We could prefer that Herodotus was confused or forgetful and merely explain away the confusion.⁴⁴ Ramsay proposed to emend the text such that the figures are on the roads from Ephesus to Sardis and Phocaea to Smyrna, in which case Kara Bel is on the road from Ephesus to Sardis and we need another relief between Phocaea and Smyrna. But there is not another such relief that we know of and there is little enough reason to doubt the text anyway.⁴⁵

Following Lepsius, Stein, How and Wells, and J. M. Cook, George Bean argues that the "land of Ephesus" really means the Tire valley inland, which belonged to Ephesus. The "natural route" to Phocaea depended on where the Hermus could be forded because there was not any bridge in the fifth century B.C.⁴⁶ But first, however compelling the later evidence for Ephesus' control far up the Cayster valley (cf., e.g., Strabo xiii.3.2, C 620), and however reluctant she may have been to colonize overseas rather than inland in the archaic period,⁴⁷ we can

⁴¹ Cf., e.g., Ramsay (above, n.36) 53, and J. M. Cook (above, n.33) 60 f, esp. nn.12 f.

⁴² Cf., e.g., J. W. Blakesley, *Herodotus* (London 1854) i.241, HW i.220.

⁴³ Cf., e.g., W. R. Ramsay (above, n.36) 53.

⁴⁴ Cf., e.g., Matzat (above, n.35) 397 ff, and many in his wake.

⁴⁵ Cf., W. R. Ramsay (above, n.38) 60.

⁴⁶ George Bean (above, n.33) 57; cf., e.g., C. R. Lepsius, *AZ* iv (1846) 276, Stein and HW *ad loc.*, and J. M. Cook (above, n.33) 62, 64 f.

⁴⁷ Cf., e.g., David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) i.75, ii.885 ff; Dieter Knibbe, *RE Supp.* xii.270 f.

hardly be certain of what she owned in the fifth century B.C. And second, whatever she owned, in context Herodotus really ought not to mean the upper Cayster when he says "the land of Ephesus." He really ought to mean "the neighborhood of Ephesus" in the light of its "ancient city" and newer settlement around the temple of Artemis (i.26). Elsewhere Herodotus' "Ephesian territory" is at or near the coast, where the Ionians could leave their ships before marching up the Cayster (v.100; cf. vi.16).

If we can guess that Herodotus really meant somewhere else, we can also guess that even if he meant Kara Bel he also meant something other than what he says, for example, that "right hand" and "left hand" are not those of Sesostris but rather of Herodotus himself as he faced the relief or stood between the two of them.⁴⁸ But such guesses would not be justified and would not meet the problem when taken in context.

We have to wonder if Herodotus ever left the coast, ever saw the monuments in question, and ever understood what he was told about them. Ramsay believed that Herodotus heard of three great roads to Sardis, one from Phocaea, one from Smyrna, and one from the Ephesian territory, two of which had Sesostris monuments: Kara Bel on the Smyrna road and Niobe near Magnesia ad Sipylum.⁴⁹ That reconstruction does not work. We have no good reason to believe that three roads to Sardis from the coast figure in this passage. A Niobe really ought not to look like a Sesostris. Kara Bel is four miles south of the road from Smyrna to Sardis. And Herodotus does not refer to a road from Smyrna to Sardis but rather from Sardis to Smyrna. But Bean's reconstruction of what Herodotus probably heard seems much more likely.⁵⁰ "Herodotus' informant was trying to say that the two carvings stood on either side of the road from the Ephesian country to Phocaea, close to where that road crossed the one from Sardis to Smyrna, but Herodotus understood him to mean one carving on each of these two roads."

Both Ramsay and Bean, therefore, account for Herodotus' narrative not in terms of Kara Bel itself but rather in terms of Herodotus' hearsay about Kara Bel. There are at least three other kinds of hearsay that we must take into account.

If Herodotus was trying to locate and identify the great monuments of Ionia on a rough chart of Asia Minor, such as the one that Aristagoras showed the Spartans on a brazen tablet, for example (v.49), or the one

⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., J. M. Cook (above, n.33) 64.

⁴⁹ W. R. Ramsay (above, n.38) 60 and cf. pp. 30 and 61.

⁵⁰ George Bean (above, n.33) 57.

that seems to underlie Herodotus' account of Xerxes' march from Sardis to the Troad (vii.42), then perhaps we can account for his Ionian Sesostriis in terms of Ionian geography and cartography. The Kara Bel monument may not have been on the road from Smyrna to Sardis, but on any kind of a rough map it might very well look as if it were, as a glance at Bean's own map of 1966 will indicate.⁵¹ And likewise Herodotus might well assume from an Anaximandrian chart of Asia Minor not only that a Niobe was a Sesostriis, but also that it was on a road from Ephesus to Phocaea.

At least one poet dealt with the road from Sardis to Smyrna and the landmarks of that road. And according to M. L. West's Oxford text of 1971, at least, Hipponax dealt specifically with a Sesostriis stele.⁵² "Traverse, then, the whole road to Smyrna. Cross through Lydia past the tomb of Attales and the monument of Gyges and the stele of Sesostriis [Bergk's restoration of the name] and the memorial of the great king Tos at Mytalis, turning your belly toward the setting sun." Herodotus and his predecessors in the sixth century probably first learned of the monuments of inland Asia Minor from poets. Homer lingered over Niobe (*Il.* xxiv.614 ff) and he must have had more followers among the lyric poets than we know about who paid their own kind of attention to other monuments. There may well be more Ionian poetry in Herodotus' account than we have been led to believe.

Finally, Herodotus seems to have added his story of the Sesostriis *typoi* to a previous narrative, to confirm the priests' account of the Egyptian king from his own experience. But the addition may be little more than a change in his predecessor's description of the monuments to imply greater familiarity with them, even a revision of their location and appearance.

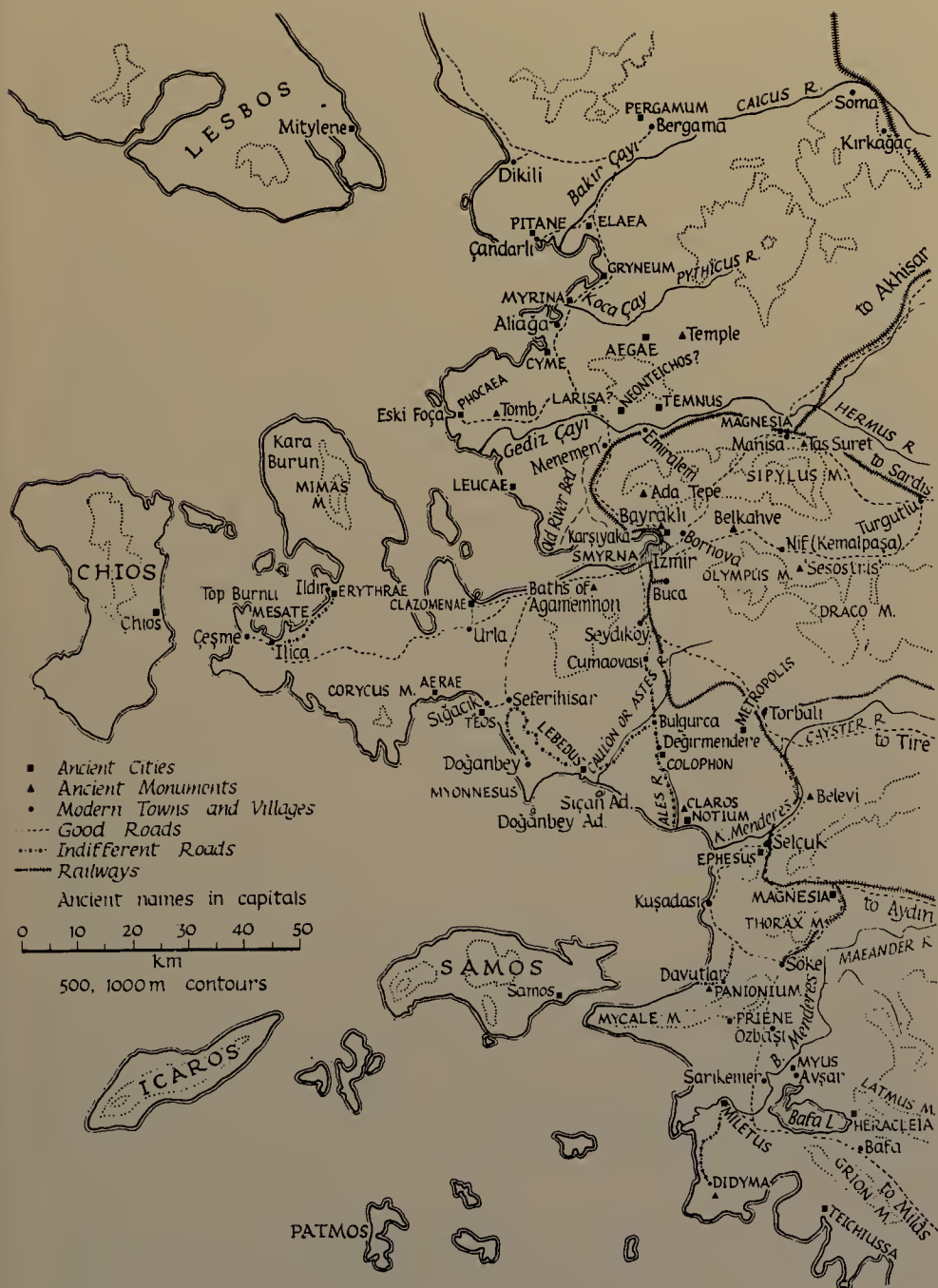
In brief, Herodotus' hearsay may have been written — cartography, logography, or poetry. However that may be, we can only doubt that Herodotus ever traveled any such roads as these or viewed any such Ionian

⁵¹ George Bean (above, n.33) 23; an enlarged version is reproduced at the end of the book.

⁵² M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford 1971-) fr. 42 (below); cf. fr. 50.

τέαρ(ε(. . . .)δεύειε τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης
 ἰθὺ διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
 καὶ σῆμα Γύγῃ καὶ (Σεσώ)στρ(ιος) στήλην
 καὶ μνῆμα Τωτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος,
 πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

It should be noted that the name of Sesostriis is Bergk's restoration, based explicitly on Hdt. ii.106.



Aegean Turkey. Source: George E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn and New York: W. W. Norton, 1979).

Sesostris monuments as the ones he describes, at Kara Bel or anywhere else that we know about, whereas he certainly implies that he did. Ramsay traversed virtually all the important ancient roads of Asia Minor with the *History* in hand, and he was convinced that Herodotus never traveled the interior. The account of an eyewitness would be unmistakable.⁵³ Garstang came to the same conclusion in 1929.⁵⁴ In 1935 A. W. Lawrence stated the matter even more unequivocally⁵⁵ and Kurt Bittel agreed in 1940.⁵⁶ Ramsay felt that Herodotus did like travel by sea and did not like travel on land.⁵⁷ Perhaps a better answer is that virtually all travel in Herodotus' time was difficult and dangerous.⁵⁸ In any event Bean too thought the evidence of Kara Bel unmistakable.⁵⁹ "Herodotus had not seen the figures himself and had not clearly understood the information he was given."

It is hard to believe that Herodotus found traces of any such great Egyptian king as Sesostris in Thrace, Colchis, inland Asia Minor, or Palestinian Syria. In context his claims on the Levant and Black Sea lands and even on the roads to Sardis in the Sesostris narrative reveal a wealth of Ionian tradition that Herodotus shaped to his purpose. Some of Herodotus' early history of Egypt probably belonged originally to *Assyrioi logoi*, which he adapted to the cause of bettering Hecataeus' account of Egypt. Some of it was Greek mythology, Aegyptus, Danaus, Jason and the Argonauts. Some of it was enhancement of Greek engineering, mathematics, science, and politics. Much of it points to Miletus. Herodotus' *historiē* is a much more complex and difficult brand of enquiry than we have tried to believe.

If we cannot believe Herodotus' experience of Sesostris monuments in Thrace, Colchis, Palestine, or Asia Minor, how credible is he elsewhere? We need to reassess the nature and origin of Herodotus' claims on Egypt, with its priests and negroes, and the Pontus, which Herodotus purports to have measured, not to mention other exotic locales such as Tyre and Babylon, where we have tended to accept his authority perhaps too lightly for the last 60 years and where we do have the means of control on what he says in notable instances.

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⁵³ W. R. Ramsay (above, n.38) 60 f.

⁵⁴ John Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London 1929) 178.

⁵⁵ A. W. Lawrence (above, n.4) 118.

⁵⁶ Kurt Bittel (above, n.33) 189 f.

⁵⁷ W. R. Ramsay (above, n.38) 61.

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g., Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London 1974) 72 ff.

⁵⁹ George Bean above, (n.33) 57.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP* *American Journal of Philology*
AO *Archiv für Orientforschung*
ARE J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols.), Chicago, 1906–
Ath. Pol. Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*
AZ *Archaeologische Zeitung*
CdE *Chronique d'Égypte*
DK H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, edited with additions by W. Kranz, seventh edition, Berlin, 1954
FGH Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Leiden, 1957 ff.
GGM Karl Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (3 vols.), Paris, 1855 (repr. Hildesheim, 1965)
HGAM Sir William Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Royal Geographical Society, Supplemental Papers, Vol. IV, London, 1890, (repr. Amsterdam, 1962)
HSCP Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HW W. W. How, J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford, 1912, corr. ed. 1928
IM *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
KR G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge, 1963
Luckenbill D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2 vols.), Chicago, 1926 f
MDOG *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin*
RE Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
Stein Heinrich Stein, *Herodotos Erster Band, Zweites Heft*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1902 (1st ed. 1856–61)

NOTES ON LUCRETIVS 2.251-293

IVARS AVOTINS

I

ONE of the most important and difficult problems in Epicurean philosophy is the interrelationship of the atomic swerve and acts of will. Until recently the prevalent theory was that of Giussani, followed by Bailey in his influential discussion of this question.¹ This orthodoxy was challenged by Furley in his interesting and original reconsideration of the problem.²

After an analysis chiefly of Lucretius 2.251-293 and certain passages of Aristotle, Furley concludes that the swerve played no direct part in voluntary action. Its task was to change the original constitution of one's psyche. A single swerve, occurring at any time, could be enough for this purpose. Such a swerve would provide a break in the succession of causes so that the source of an action could not be traced back to something occurring before the birth of the agent. It would save *voluntas* from necessity but it would not feature in every act of *voluntas*.

Furley's hypothesis has, on the whole, been well received. It was given the unqualified approval of Rist.³ Stokes felt that it might be right.⁴ There was some criticism. Mansfeld thought that Lucretius 2.263 ff, 2.272 ff, and 4.877 ff seemed to point to the participation of the swerve in each single action.⁵ Long, too, remarked that Lucretius' text was easier to interpret on the assumption that the swerve was at work in the freedom of particular actions.⁶ However, no discussion of Furley's work contains a re-examination of Lucretius 2.251-293, by far the most important single link in his argument.

Because of the importance of Furley's hypothesis and the divergent

¹ C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (New York 1928) 433-437.

² David J. Furley, *Two Studies in the Greek Atomists* (Princeton 1967), esp.

232.

³ J. M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (Cambridge 1972) 94.

⁴ M. C. Stokes, *CR* 19 (1969) 206-209.

⁵ J. Mansfeld, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 100-103.

⁶ A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (London 1974) 60.

views of his readers I thought it worthwhile to examine lines 2.251–293 afresh. I feel now that the evidence they provide is strongly against Furley's thesis that the swerve plays no direct part in voluntary action. First, lines 2.256–260:

libera per terras unde haec animantibus exstat,
unde est haec, inquam, fatis avolsa voluntas,⁷
per quam progredimur quo ducit quemque voluptas,
declinamus item motus nec tempore certo
nec regione loci certa, sed ubi ipsa tulit mens? 260

Lucretius states that we can *progredi* and *declinare motus nec tempore certo nec regione loci certa* (2.259–260). In other words, these actions can be unpredictable yet under the control of our mind, that is, unpredictable not to us but rather to an outside observer. They could be unpredictable to an observer either because of his natural limitations (inability to perceive atomic motions and their consequences, and so on) or because they are unpredictable in principle, that is, unpredictable to one who could perceive and remember the motions of every pertinent atom and calculate all their future motions and positions. It seems clear that what Lucretius must have in mind here is unpredictability in principle. It is quite obvious and would not need to be stated that many motions, not only of animate but even of inanimate objects, cannot be predicted by men of ordinary abilities. Also, Lucretius uses the same phrases to describe the unpredictability in principle of the swerve of the atom (2.218–219 and 2.293).

That our will is unpredictable is indicated also by Lucretius in lines 2.284–287:

quare in seminibus quoque idem fateare necessest,
esse aliam praeter plagas et pondera causam 285
motibus, unde haec est nobis innata potestas,
de nihilo quoniam fieri nihil posse videmus.

The *alia causa motibus* is, of course, the swerve of the atom. It operates outside the chain of causes (2.251–255) and is directly stated to be unpredictable (2.218–219 and 2.292–293). Now, its existence is inferred partly from an *innata potestas* within us. The context of 2.251–293 clearly shows that this *innata potestas* is found in our *voluntas* or *mens*. It is reasonable and logical to assume that if the unpredictable

⁷ I have here assumed that the emendation from the manuscripts' *libera voluptas* to *libera voluntas* is required both because of the context and because of the occurrence in Cicero (*De Fato* 20) of *libera voluntas* in a similar context.

swerve was inferred by the Epicureans from a property of our *voluntas*, they thought that our *voluntas*, the source of the inference, would also possess this unpredictability.

Now, Furley suggests that the swerve gets no mention in Lucretius' account of voluntary action because it plays no direct part in it.⁸ Lucretius, on the other hand, clearly states that voluntary action can be unpredictable. Since evidence from Lucretius cannot be disregarded, Furley's thesis, to be valid, would have to hold that voluntary action can be unpredictable without the swerve's playing any part in this unpredictability. It seems to me that such a view is untenable within Epicurean philosophy. The only attested motion in Epicureanism that escapes the concatenation of causes and is unpredictable in principle is the swerve of the atom. Therefore, postulating unpredictable, yet swerve-free, acts of will would be tantamount to postulating a second source of unpredictability in principle in Epicurean philosophy. Of this there is no trace in our sources. Therefore, Furley's view cannot, apparently, be reconciled with the evidence. This evidence forces us to admit that one or more swerves must, after all, be somehow involved in each unpredictable action of the *voluntas*.

II

In this note I wish to discuss the function of lines 2.263-2.283. Rather neglected in the past, this question has recently been taken up by Furley⁹ and Mayotte Bollack.¹⁰ Furley writes that the point of lines

⁸ Furley suggests that if the swerve had a part in voluntary action one could have expected it to be explicitly mentioned in Lucretius' explanation (4.877-906) of how we can walk at will (above, n.2, pp.214-215). However, the intention of Lucretius here is not to present an example of unpredictable motion. As was already pointed out by W. Lohmann, *Quaestionum Lucretianarum capita duo* (Brunswick 1882) 50-52, his purpose is to show why and how we can walk when we wish. The stress lies on the interaction of the will and the limbs. Therefore, no conclusions should be drawn from this passage on the relationship between the swerve and the will.

Also, even if we assume that acts of will can be unpredictable and that the swerve plays a part in these acts, this position does not force us to believe that all acts of will have to involve the swerve. For instance, K. Sallmann, "Studien zum philosophischen Naturbegriff der Römer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Lukrez," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 7 (Bonn 1962) 200-201, states that the process of walking in Lucretius 4.877 ff involves a *voluntas* subject to the chain of causes. He distinguishes this *voluntas* from one that involves movements in the soul which begin a new series of causes independent of its environment.

⁹ Above, n.2, pp. 176-178 and 182.

¹⁰ Mayotte Bollack, "Momen Mutatum" (La déviation et le plaisir, Lucrèce, II, 184-293), *Cahiers de Philologie* I (1976) 180.

263–283 is to show that there is such a thing as voluntary action as opposed to forced action and that this is the simplest possible instance of the distinction made by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* between voluntary and forced actions. Mayotte Bollack thus expresses the function of the two examples in lines 263–283: “Dans l’argumentation, les exemples ont pour fonction de dégager l’action de la volonté, qui, agissant sur le corps, se distingue de lui, et se distingue *a fortiori* des chocs auxquels tantôt elle se substitue comme une incitation propre et que tantôt elle combat, imprimant une impulsion contraire.”

It seems to me that the context of 2.263–283 allows us to explain the function of these lines more fully than has been done by Furley and Bollack.

The two examples in lines 2.263–283 are part of the larger argument of lines 2.216–293. In these lines Lucretius sets out to prove the existence of the atomic swerve. This intention is announced in 2.218–220; the existence of the swerve is reaffirmed in 2.292–293. In 2.216–2.293 Lucretius adduces two arguments to prove the swerve. In the first argument (2.216–250) he argues that if the swerve did not exist then nature could not have created anything. Since creation exists — this, to him self-evident, observation is not explicitly made by Lucretius — the swerve must exist. In the second argument (2.251–293) the existence of the swerve is no longer postulated in order to account for creation. As is shown by the mention of the *plagae* in 2.285 as well as the connected motions and the sequence of causes in 2.251–255, Lucretius here envisages a universe in which atoms can join and creation has, in fact, taken place. He then proceeds to demonstrate to his satisfaction that a proof for the existence of the atomic swerve can be derived from observable phenomena in the created world.¹¹

His method of proof is a familiar one. He takes it for granted that the swerve is unpredictable (2.218–220 and 2.292–293). He also takes for granted in the created world the existence of *libera voluntas*,¹² that is, a *voluntas* which, when it is the cause of unpredictable motions, is itself unpredictable. He then argues in his accustomed way from the observable to the atomic level. He assumes that if there is a cause of unpredictable motions on the former level then there must be a cause of unpredictable motions also on the latter (2.284–287). He bases his inference on the maxim *de nihilo nihil*.

¹¹ In Epicurean philosophy, of course, the presence of *plagae* would by itself prove that the swerve had taken place. However, Lucretius here is attacking a version of atomism that did not postulate a swerve (see Furley, above, n.2, pp. 174–175).

¹² For the textual problem see n.7.

The main function of the two examples in lines 2.263-283 is, it seems to me, to support a relationship between *voluntas*, the cause, and motion, its visible manifestation. That this was the intention of Lucretius is indicated by lines 2.261-262:

nam dubio procul his rebus sua cuique voluntas
principium dat et hinc motus per membra rigantur.

If Lucretius felt it necessary to include this asseveration, we may infer from it that some opponents felt that the causal relationship between *voluntas*, a phenomenon not perceivable by our senses, and visible motion was not self-evident and needed proof. Lines 2.263-283 are intended to supply this proof. In them Lucretius demonstrates that in both kinds of motion — voluntary and forced — the mind does, or may, initiate action of the body. It is not necessary to determine whether the two examples were meant to illustrate predictable or unpredictable action. The possibility of the latter was established already in 2.251-260. The purpose of the examples is merely to convince the doubters that our visible motions are indeed initiated or stopped by our invisible *voluntas* or, in terms of the language of 2.284-287, to show that in the visible world the *voluntas* is indeed a *causa motibus*.

THE CASE OF THE DOOR'S MARRIAGE (CATULLUS 67.6)

E. BADIAN

O dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,
salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,
Ianua, quam Balbo dicunt seruisse benigne
olim, cum sedes ipse senex tenuit,
quamque ferunt rursus nato seruisse maligne,
postquam es porrecto facta marita sene.
dic agedum nobis quare mutata feraris
in dominum ueterem deseruisse fidem.

THUS the opening, in our texts, of a poem that has in the past offered many problems. After the labors of generations of scholars, the general meaning by now seems clear enough and there is no need for a general interpretation. Inevitably, some have tried, from time to time, to reverse the progress made since the days when the whole poem was regarded as "no less obscure than the Sibyl's leaves."¹ But they have provided their own refutation.²

In the process, however, minor puzzles once noted and attended to have come to be forgotten. The poem starts with a striking and mock-solemn address: the female addressee, her identity still unknown and its revelation deliberately postponed, is hailed in solemn language appropriate for a lady, as dear to both her beloved husband and her father. It is only in line 3 that, in a delightful *aprosdokēton*, the poet,

¹ Turnebus, quoted by Schwabe (1862) 1.346.

² Two attempts in English should be mentioned. L. Richardson, *AJP* 88 (1967) 423 ff, proposes to make the speaker a woman and the occasion a wedding party. Implausible from the start (Catullus would presumably have made it much clearer if the unnamed speaker were not the poet himself but someone else, and a woman to boot), the theory fails to explain *parenti* in line 1 (on which see my next note, with text) and finally refutes itself when the author is unable to justify *minxerit* (line 30) as language appropriate to a Roman lady. (P. 429: after telling us it is not really as bad as we might think, he is nonetheless forced to postulate an unheralded change to an unannounced new speaker.) G. Giangrande, *QUCC* 9 (1970) 84 ff, tries to deny that the *uir prior* of line 20 is (as is now generally recognized) a previous husband; in addition to other implausibilities, he finds himself compelled to emend *Veronae* (line 34) to *matronae* — absurdly on all counts: sense, style, palaeography.

with the very first word, springs her real identity on us, and introduces her in the vocative as . . . a front door.³ With the truth revealed, things quickly go from bad to worse. Far from in fact being a reputable *matrona*, she is a slave, and the *uir* and *parens* are only her master and his father: *seruisse* is insistently repeated, and reinforced by *dominum*. Not only is she a slave, but (we hear) by repute a disloyal one. The opening turns out to have been a parody of the stock device, *captatio benevolentiae*. From this point on, she is no longer a lady.⁴ It is her master's marriage to an unworthy woman that turns out to be the subject of the poem. The door is merely courted as a source of gossip.

Yet line 6, as quoted above, *prima facie* clearly refers to her marriage. How can that be? Once she has been decisively identified as a slave,

³ I should like to thank Professor J. P. Hallett, who has helped me to see much in Latin poetry that commentators have missed and to question much that they have seen, for first pointing this out to me: it is the only way of understanding the first two lines. (I also want to thank her for providing me with bibliography. But she is not responsible for any part of my interpretation after these two lines; indeed, she would disagree with some of it.) Of course, *ianua*, prominent at the beginning of line 3, reveals the truth — and the spirit in which we are to take the poem to come. The lack of sensitivity with which the poem has often been treated is illustrated by W. Kroll, who devoted much attention to it and in fact contributed to the understanding of parts of it. On the opening lines he writes (*Catull*² [1929] p. 213): “Der einleitende Satz ist, wie öfter bei Catull, . . . schleppend: das beherrschende Subst. *ianua* folgt erst in V. 3 auf zwei attributive Kommata.” He did not ask why a master of playful verse here chose to adopt this “dragging” technique; nor did he compare the way in which we are kept waiting for the actual subject of all the gossip — and of the poem (see discussion in my text). Note also the carefully planned shock of *maligne* at the end of line 5, when everything up to that point had been tailored to make us expect another term of praise. However, it is Kroll who deserves the credit for spotting the *captatio benevolentiae*.

⁴ Professor Hallett, in an article (*Coll. Latomus* 168 [1980] 106 ff) of which she showed me an early draft, draws attention to later phrases that might apply to a married woman as well as to a slave. It is conceivable that Catullus, after making the facts clear to the reader with his repeated *seruisse* and *dominum*, added further humor to his characterization of the door by using such phrases, tongue in cheek. For the door clearly thinks herself a cut above the other *ancillae*, rather like an English housekeeper; and her speech is refined and rises to pretentious clichés. (See lines 25, 28, 33 f.) Yet care and detailed attention are needed in studying word usage, here as elsewhere. Thus in *Aen.* 4.103 Juno says to Venus that, by marrying Aeneas, Dido will *servire* him. Does this show that *servire* was a proper term to describe a wife's relationship to her husband? No, for Venus well knows (see 105 f) that it is tendentious flattery, trying to obtain her agreement to the match by stressing the fact that it would bring about the political subjugation (a standard use of the word) of the Carthaginians to Aeneas. It is in fact a trick, employed (again) for purposes of characterization — here of Juno.

there can be no question of *iustum matrimonium*. A Roman reader would not even find the suggestion funny: it is meaningless. Admittedly, a slave's *contubernium*, as the inscriptions of genteel slaves proclaim, might be dignified with the vocabulary of *matrimonium*. But this is not relevant. No *contubernalis* is introduced, no such relationship implied, anywhere in the course of the poem.

Editors, in recent times, have been surprisingly unperturbed, and commentators have tended to pass it by without undue curiosity. The standard discussion of the poem in English is still that of F. Copley (*TAPA* 80 [1949] 245–253). Its comments on this (p. 248) must be quoted. After rightly accepting Fröhlich's emendation *nato* for *uoto* in line 5,⁵ it continues:

With this reading we are introduced to Balbus junior [*sic*] and are told that . . . he did not succeed in keeping adulterers away from his wife. We learn, further, of the elder Balbus' death, and of the fact that, after his death, his son and his wife [*sic*: whose wife?] took over the house. The phrase *facta marita*, applied to the door, is clear enough. It means that Balbus senior . . . was a widower, and that the coming of Balbus junior gave the house a mistress once more. *There is nothing obscure or difficult about this* [my italics].

It is only lack of sensitivity to the language and style of the poet that produces this clarity. The commentator has created a fictitious "Balbus junior," not noticing that the poet knows only one Balbus and *contrasts* him with his still unnamed son (Caecilius of line 9). Worse still: he has not noticed that at this stage we are told nothing of adulterers, any more than we were told the addressee's identity at the beginning of the poem. The poet artfully keeps us waiting. For all we know at this point, the door may have connived at thievery: we merely hear of a reported change in her character. It is only after another twelve lines of elusive dialogue, with the door coaxed by patient assurances of interest

⁵ Occasional attempts to defend *uoto* (thus the articles cited note 2 above) show that anything in a manuscript will find a defender. (See Baehrens's blunt comment: "quod omni illudit interpretationi, certe si mittimus nugas." His own *natae*, however, is deservedly forgotten.) These attempts fail to make proper sense of *uoto servire* [*sic*], even though Richardson's interpretation seems composed with this end in view; and they fail to notice that the structure demands a word corresponding to *Balbo* in the parallel construction, and preferably one contrasting with the emphatically placed *sene* at the end of line 6 — hence precisely *nato*. The spelling *gnato* (thus Mynors) is not advisable. That form is nowhere required in the whole of Catullus (though it is sometimes offered by manuscripts), and it is frequently impossible for metrical reasons (see, e.g., in poem 64 alone, lines 298, 324, 401, 403).

and sympathy, that we begin to find out what it is all about. A commentator who can go so far astray in what is indubitably clear, and who has difficulty in clearly expressing his own meaning, is not a trustworthy guide to clarity. Loose paraphrase can disguise difficulty, but not remove it.

The poet, after the make-believe of addressing the door as a *matrona*, has torn the veil aside and firmly identified her as a slave. That he should then at once speak of her as contracting a marriage would be surprising in any context: it could be understood only if it were done, once more, for the sake of some special surprise effect. When nothing of the sort happens, it should be enough to puzzle any reader. Nor can one meet such simple points with the common response that poetry need not be subject to the logic of prose. This is mere evasion. No one would deny that we cannot expect Pindar's imagery, or (for that matter) that of Catullus 63, to be expressed in rationally coherent form. But here we have a deliberately simple colloquial piece: *sermo cottidianus*, with no flights of grand imagery, until we come to the whimsical and deliberate reference to Brixia in line 34, which is part of the door's characterization. The basis of the poem is a trivially amusing personification, cleverly toyed with to show the poet's satirical skill. Within such a framework, we are surely entitled to expect rational consistency and to reject patent absurdity.

Not all editors have brushed the difficulty aside. Some (though not recently) have been aware that something needed explaining. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, in his commentary (1928, pp. 203–204), properly expressed himself puzzled: “[N]on si capisce come *porta* [*sic*: he must mean *ianua*, of course] possa essere fatta *marita*.” He proposed an answer: if *est* be retained for *es* (on this, see further below), *est . . . facta marita* “si riferisce alla padrona di casa.” The startling suggestion of a change of subject from the interlocutor addressed to a person hitherto not even mentioned is justified as a colloquialism (“linguaggio comune”) and supported by a reference to the Twelve Tables (*si nox furtum faxit, si im occisit, iure caesus esto*) — irrelevant in period, style, genre, and structure.⁶

Most commonly, however, the phrase has been regarded as a kind of metonymy: a *marita ianua* is a door belonging to a married man.⁷ A

⁶ The vague suggestion of “colloquial language” is suspect unless supported by texts. See, e.g., n.12 below.

⁷ Thus first Schwabe, it seems, and those who follow him, where they discuss the point. E.g., Kroll (p. 214): “Nach dem Tode des Alten . . . bezog der verheiratete Sohn das Haus.” [False, as is shown by line 19, where K. gets it

parallel is suggested; Schwabe found a solitary phrase in Livy that would serve: Philip V, indulging his evil passions incognito, *uagabatur . . . per maritas domos dies noctesque* (27.31.5 f). A phrase from Censorinus, referring to *maritae domus* in a much more prosaic context, can be added (*d.n.* 3.3).

The parallel, on closer inspection, is by no means valid. First, the use of *domus* for the inhabitants of a house is commonplace in prose and poetry. The long list of adjectival *iuncturae* in *TLL* includes (to keep to the same general area) *casta*, *fertilis* (also *aucta liberis*), *libidinosa*, *pudica* and *impudica*, *pura* and *impura*, *sancta*, *uidua*. The examples come from all periods and all genres. The use of *marita* with *domus* causes no problem in the wider context of the normal associations of the word. How acceptable it in due course became is shown by Censorinus' quite unselfconscious use of the phrase in a legal context.

For the very same reason, however, the parallel is unhelpful. The normal uses of *ianua* offer no parallels to those of *domus*. Despite the common and well-known appearance of the word in a specialized kind of erotic poetry, its uses are, on the whole, confined to variations on "opening" and "entrance." In the stock erotic context, it is personified as a servant — as has often been noted, precisely what we have in our poem. As such, the servant can be cruel or conniving, righteous or corruptible, subject to curses, gossip, and entreaties: Propertius 1.16 — the best and most elaborate example — shows most of these facets. It is obviously closely related to our poem (whatever the antecedents in Greek literature).⁸ But this conceit, however developed, is quite different from what we are supposed to have in line 6: the *identification* of a door with its owners, such as we regularly find (and without any

right:" . . . auch ist ja die Frau erst nach dem Tode des Balbus ins Haus gekommen, dessen Sohn hat sie unmittelbar nachher heimgeführt." Copley sneers at trying to understand what Catullus meant: "Whether the girl married Balbus junior [*sic*] before or after his father's death, or before or after he moved into his father's house, makes no difference whatever, and to debate this point merely obscures the tale."] "Ähnlich *caelebs lectus* 68,6. *vidua domus* Ovid Fast. 1,36." With *lectus* (in any language) the figure is too obvious to need comment. On the *domus* parallel, see discussion in the text, pointing out the lack of precision and the confusion of figures. Quinn gets the elements right, but then translates (of the door): ". . . when you got yourself a wife" [*sic*]. He admits that *es marita* (like most commentators, he does not note *facta*) "sounds an odd way to put" this.

⁸ On this topic see Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (1965), with further examples. The correspondence between the door in Prop. 1.16 and ours in Cat. 67 is so close and detailed that direct imitation seems certain.

trace of *personification*) in the case of *domus*. It is only the wishful thinking of those trying to make "sense" of nonsense that has confused those two devices.

Schwabe's supposed parallel, reproduced (with or without acknowledgment) by those editors and commentators who care enough to worry, is in fact irrelevant. Only one better parallel has been alleged.⁹ Munro discovered and compared Martial 10.19.12 f — unfortunately adding it to Schwabe's idea, of which he approved.¹⁰ Martial has been light-heartedly invoking Thalia to carry his book of verse to Pliny, but (he adds, after describing Pliny's house to her, so as to be able to record that it once belonged to Peto) she must be careful not to get so drunk that she knocks at the wrong time:

sed ne tempore non tuo disertam
pulses ebria ianuam uideto.

This is much better than Schwabe's idea. (It does not seem to have penetrated into other editions as Schwabe's has.) It can be argued that the door is here identified with its owner and called eloquent by metonymy.

A solitary instance in Martial, a century and a half later and the only one in Latin literature, would not fully prove the case for Catullus. Yet I think that even here an alternative is preferable, giving better sense than the postulate of an unparalleled figure. Personification is the appropriate explanation in this case as well. Of course, Martial has been at great pains to depict Pliny as a great orator, introduced at once as *facundus* and assured that his speeches before the centumviral court will be compared by posterity to Cicero's orations. If we follow the history and usual behavior of the word *ianua*, without preconceptions, we can readily see playful personification, quite in the tradition of *ianua*: the master's eloquence has rubbed off on the door, and the point seems to be that the studious door might be rudely knocked about by the drunken Muse (*disertam pulses ebria* could hardly be more eloquently juxtaposed). The door is eloquent in her own right, just as the Muse is drunk. Her eloquence no more stands for Pliny's than Thalia's drunkenness is intended to stand for Martial's own.

Let us in any case look at some simple facts of common sense and usage. It is one thing to suggest that *maritae domus* (found only thus) can mean "houses of married men" and to claim that *marita ianua*

⁹ Friedrich (p. 431) finds "illumination" (he does not allege a parallel) in Prop. 4.11.85, where the door sees a bed in front of it.

¹⁰ *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* (1878), p. 163.

might therefore mean the *door* of a married man — though, as I have shown, the analogy is unsound if followed up in detail.¹¹ It is one thing to allege a parallel in Martial, genuine or not. But it is quite another thing to omit consideration of the crucial *facta*. Neither “married houses” nor a possibly metonymic eloquent door can imply that we may speak of a door as “getting married” — or, in fact, “becoming married,” whatever this may mean, in English or in Latin. That *domus marita facta* can mean “the house of a man who has got married” is a bit hard to believe; yet it is only this that would provide a genuine parallel to what we are asked to swallow. No one has ever produced it. Let us illustrate by reference to English. It would be perfectly acceptable to keep Livy’s phrase in translation and speak of Philip’s invading “married homes.” But no one would treat this as a precedent for saying that a home had “become married” — let alone a front door. Wishful thinking, repeated by uncritical copying, ignores logic and usage, and the result is little better than the case of those who failed to see a problem from the start.

Serious consideration surely leaves no alternative to emending the text. It is interesting that the text normally read is not that of the Veronensis (or indeed that of any surviving manuscript), but one due to Renaissance emendation. *V* was certainly corrupt and seems to have read:

postquam est porrecto facta marite sene.

It was the Aldine edition that changed this to the text generally printed. The need is clearly for a different approach. We need not even overcome the conservative editor’s reluctance to depart from the transmitted text: we need only replace an emended text that does not make sense by one that does.

There have indeed been scholars who have felt that one should not introduce the door’s wedding by emendation. Lenchantin, as we saw, realized that the firmest basis for an alternative is provided by the *est* of *V*, the abandonment of which is what makes the phrase apply to the door.¹² His attempt to retain it without further change must, as we saw,

¹¹ We might here point out, for the sake of completeness, the occasional poetical use of *maritus* = *maritalis* (“pertaining to marriage”). For the explanation see Porph. *ad* Hor. *c. saec.* 20, and cf., in general, *TLL* viii.404, lines 16–30. That this cannot be the meaning here is so obvious that it has not (to my knowledge) been actually suggested, though it is implied by Richardson (see n.2 above) in the context of his case.

¹² Giangrande (n.2 above, p. 81) takes over Lenchantin’s retention of *est*, but actually refers it to the door — calling the extraordinary change from second to third person in the address a “colloquialism.” He thus avoids Lenchantin’s

itself be abandoned. Long ago, Fröhlich found a heroic solution:

*postquam est porrecto factu' maritu' sene.*¹³

The sense of this is unexceptionable, if (as he did and we must) we read *nato* in the preceding line. But the meter, surely, is not lightly to be attributed to Catullus, even in light verse, and the suggestion has found no favor at all: an absurdity that scans has seemed preferable. The proper lesson, however, is that the change to *marita* apparently cannot be avoided. We must take it as certain.

Roszbach, no doubt realizing this, proposed *tacta* for *facta*, thus finding the one word left where the attempt to reestablish sense can begin. (For what it is worth, it seems to be the original reading of a minor manuscript, *M.*) This avoids all technical difficulties and is certainly a great improvement on the accepted reading. But it offers a difficulty in actual meaning. It would imply that the son was married before the father's death, but had not touched his wife. Nothing in the rest of the poem supports the suggestion that this was what Catullus intended. It would even import some ambiguity: it could be taken to refer to the wife of the *senex* (that is, as an obscure allusion to his widow after his death) — the kind of ambiguity to which (as we have seen) modern commentators can be inclined, but which it is difficult to impute to Catullus. If the poet had meant to say that the son had been married, but had not consummated the marriage, before the death of the father (we may take it that the alternative, a reference to Balbus' widow, is excluded by the rest of the poem), he would surely have found a more direct way of saying so, and would certainly have made more of it.

Although Roszbach's text (ignored in recent editions) is much the best effort at coming to grips with the problem, there is obviously room for further thought. As we have seen, there is no reason to emend *est*, and the emendation *marita* cannot easily be avoided, so that Roszbach's concentration on *facta* points in the right direction. An easy and obvious change offers:

postquam est porrecto pacta marita sene.

(The dative *nato* would be understood from the previous line.)

The participle *pactus* is, of course, quite commonly used in a passive

absurdity, but at the cost of giving up the attempt at explanation that was what inspired Lenchantin to suggest his reading. On *ianua marita facta* he is satisfied with Schwabe (n.7 above).

¹³ The readings proposed by Fröhlich and Roszbach are listed in Ellis's *editio maior* (1878): they are not thought worth recording in recent editions, where the problem is apparently no longer recognized.

sense.¹⁴ Applied to public affairs, it most commonly goes with words like *foedus* and *societas*. In private affairs, its principal association is precisely with engagement to marry. In this meaning it is found in all periods and in most styles: as early as Plautus (*Trin.* 500, 1183); in Cicero's *Letters* (*Att.* 5.21.2); in Livy (1.2.1; 44.30.4); and frequently in the *Aeneid* (4.99 *hymenaeos*; 10.648 *thalamos*; 10.722 *coniugis*; see also 10.79, where it is used as a noun) and especially in Ovid (*Her.* 8.95; 10.92; 20.185; *Met.* 9.722; 14.451 *pacta pro coniuge*; *Fasti* 5.702).

These *iuncturae* show that *pacta marita* (*est*) is unobjectionable. Moreover, confusion of P and F, with corruption of a less obvious to a more obvious word, is easy to envisage in a majuscule tradition, and the one here suggested can in fact be paralleled.¹⁵

The suggestion that Catullus wrote *pacta* solves our difficulties. No longer do we have a married door, but a young man who cannot wait for his father to die before becoming engaged — obviously to a woman of whom the parent would have, or did, disapprove; for her previous history, though not (it seems) widely known in Verona society, was not too difficult to discover if one cared to take the trouble. In any case, nothing could be done until the old man was out of the way. At that point, the engagement could at last be announced, and the marriage (contrary to civilized custom) no doubt followed at once. The father's death set the son free to indulge his folly. Once more, Catullus (if we read him carefully enough) has invited us to see it: note the stress on *porrecto* . . . *sene*, framing the engagement.¹⁶

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¹⁴ I am very grateful to the editor of the *TLL*, Dr. P. Flury, for putting his material on *pactus* as a past participle passive at my disposal. It is such generosity that makes serious work on Latin usage possible at present.

¹⁵ Professor James Willis has kindly supplied me with some instances from the text of Ovid: *Fasti* 4.817 *pacto/facto*; *Met.* 11.135 *pactam/factam* (both parallel to my suggestion here); cf. *ibid.* 7.741 *pactus/fictus*. In connection with *Met.* 11.135 he comments in a private letter, after outlining the history of that passage in the major editions, "Thus, as sometimes happens, we have a fuller range of variant readings in older editions, modern editors having eliminated the deteriores, and having further eliminated 'lectiones singulares' in those mss. which they used." This is clearly what has happened to the original reading *tacta* in *M* in our line.

¹⁶ In addition to the scholars thanked above, I should like to acknowledge the acute comments of Professor A. B. Bosworth. The first draft of this article was in fact written during a very profitable stay at the University of Western Australia.

CATULLUS 68.73-78 IN CONTEXT (VV. 67-80)

JOHN VAN SICKLE

A NOTE in *Harvard Studies* 82 by Richard F. Thomas calls attention to some difficulties of the commentators with a famous simile in Catullus.¹ The simile compares the arrival of Catullus' mistress at the house where he waited to Laodamia's at the house of Protesilaus. But Catullus goes on to say that the subsequent misfortune of the legendary couple stemmed from neglect of an initial sacrifice: a theme unparalleled in other versions of the story. That the sacrifice neglected was a preliminary to the wedding and that the omission was the bride's through passionate haste has been assumed by most commentators. But Thomas argues that the sacrifice in question must be that of Iphigenia and that Catullus by alluding to it as "not yet performed" only wished to indicate that the marriage took place "before the Trojan War."² Thomas bases his argument on the first part of the simile in isolation (73-78); yet the very next distich shows that Catullus was in fact thinking of a sacrifice omitted by the couple (79-80):

quam ieiuna pium desideret ara cruorem
docta est amisso Laodamia uiro.

The heroine learned the hard way, after she lost her husband, how strong is the requirement of appeasing the gods before new initiatives are taken. From this the inference may seem natural that it was she who had been guilty of neglect, as most commentators say. Yet closer analysis of Catullus' language allows an alternative inference and suggests that commentators, as often, have been perpetuating a slight misprision.

The lines excerpted by Thomas (73-78) belong to a larger context which I quote for the convenience of the reader: (67-80)

is [sc. Allius] clausum lato patefecit limite campum,	67
isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam,	68
ad quam communes exerceremus amores	69
quo mea se molli candida diua pede	70

¹ Richard F. Thomas, "An Alternative to Ceremonial Negligence (Catullus 68.73-78)," *HSCP* 82 (1978) 175-178.

² Idem 177.

intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam	71
innixa arguta constituit solea,	72
coniugis ut quondam flagrans aduenit amore	73
Protesilaeam Laudamia domum	74
inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro	75
hostia caelestis pacificasset eros.	76
nil mihi tam ualde placeat, Ramnusia uirgo,	77
quod temere inuitis suscipiatur eris.	78
quam ieiuna pium desideret ara cruorem,	79
docta est amisso Laudamia uiro	80

Acknowledging the aid of Allius, who made available the "house" (*domum*, 68) where Catullus' mistress came to him, the poet compares her arrival there to that of Laodamia at Protesilaus' "house" (*domum*, 74). An emphatic detail, *flagrans . . . amore* (73), further identifies the real with the legendary woman in respect to passion. But then Catullus redirects the simile from his previous joy toward his present grief — the death of his brother at Troy, which will occupy the center of the poem.³ He effects this thematic demarche and underlines its importance by means of a bold enjambment — *inceptam frustra* (75) — five heavy syllables, the entire first half-line. The leading motif for the transition from joy to grief is *frustra*, which Catullus at once explains and amplifies in the *cum*-clause (75–76): *nondum cum sanguine sacro / hostia caelestis pacificasset eros*. The sequence of moments imagined is crucial. If the perfect passive participle and the pluperfect have their normal temporal value,⁴ the moments in narrative are three, the time imagined as latest

³ On the transitional function of the simile, an earlier commentator notes: "Incipit poeta latissime vagari, donec ad fratris mortem miro quodam artificio, tamquam aliud agens, rursum se conferat." C. Valerius Catullus Veronensis et in eum Io. Antonii Vulpii Eloquentiae Professoris in Gymnasio Patavino Novus Commentarius Locupletissimus. Patavii 1737.

⁴ E. C. Woodcock, *A New Latin Syntax* (London 1959) par. 103, "However, in extant Latin literature, this form (sc. the perfect participle in *-tus*, *-sus*), when connected with an active transitive verb, is always passive in sense, and normally denotes a completed state. Accordingly, when it is predicative, its tense is past in relation to that of the finite verb"; par. 235, "*cum* . . . with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive . . . merely to show how things were at the time of the action of the main verb, or to show what had preceded and led up to it." Not that the *cum*-clause we are considering is merely temporal; since it explains why Protesilaus' initiative was *frustra*, it falls into the cases described by Woodcock (loc. cit.): "the action of the *cum*-clause accounts for that of the main clause, and there is something more than a mere time relation." Thomas (n.1 above) 177 n.8, denies the link between *frustra* and the *cum*-clause, but to do so he relies on a gravely distorted report of Ellis' arguments (see n.12 below), ignores the rhetorical effect of the enjambment, and blurs the distinctions in time (see n.7 below).

being mentioned first, in the main clause: "Laodamia came (*aduenit*, 73:III) to the house, / which had been⁵ started⁶ (*inceptam*, 75:II) to no avail, seeing that a victim had not yet (sc. at the time of II) appeased (*pacificasset*, 76:I) the heavenly masters."⁷ Or the participle would permit an even more expressive coloring: "... came passionate to the house (III), / although it had been started (II) in vain,⁸ since a victim had not yet appeased (I)..." The very thought of this desire — so pressing as to precipitate action without regard for the gods — prompts an apostrophe to Nemesis: may Catullus himself never feel driven so!⁹ Then returning to his novel theme that neglected sacrifice had been the cause, Catullus relates the initial fault directly to the final loss (79-80): only after losing her husband did Laodamia learn how peremptory is the need for sacrifice.¹⁰

If this, or something close to it, is what Catullus meant, then we can return to one of the older commentators for further help. Ellis notes that Catullus had Homer's version of the story in mind;¹¹ the catalogue of ships tells how Protesilaus had left behind in Phylake a mourning wife and half-completed house — *δόμος ἡμιτελής* (Il. 2.701); the latter phrase, says Ellis, gave rise to two different interpretations in antiquity: a scholiast on Homer asserts that "most" commentators took it as referring to an actual marriage chamber that Protesilaus was building

⁵ Woodcock (n.4 above) par. 90-91, cf. "*urbem captam incendit* . . . 'he burned the city, which he had (previously) captured.'"

⁶ OLD s.v. *incipio*, "1 (tr.) To take in hand, start, embark on (an enterprise) . . . si inceptam oppugnationem reliquisset, CAES. *Gal.* 7.17.6; inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis (i.e., opening their mouths to shout) VERG. *A.* 6.493; . . . desinit in lacrimas inceptaque fila remisit OV. *Fast.* 2.755."

⁷ It is unclear to me how Thomas construes the pluperfect (cf. n.4 above); he writes (n.1 above) 176: "There was, it is true, a sacrificial ceremony connected with marriage; this was the *προτέλεια*, which, as its title demands, occurred before the actual wedding — several days before, it would seem. In Catullus 68, however, the situation does not conform to this sequence: here the house has been established (that is, the marriage has taken place), and the question of sacrifice comes up after the union (*nondum*, 75)." The paraphrase, "house has been established," seems to imply "household has been set up" more than "dwelling has been started"; and "has been" neglects the temporal value of the perfect participle (cf. nn.4, 6 above). In any case, surely the pluperfect must indicate what should have "preceded or led up to" (Woodcock, n.4) both building and union.

⁸ Woodcock (n.4 above) par. 92.

⁹ Cf. Catullus 63.91-93, prayer to Cybele warding off the madness of Attis; and Catullus 76.12, *dis inuitis*.

¹⁰ Woodcock (n.4 above) par. 93, 95.

¹¹ Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford 1889²) 416.

when he sailed off to the war; Ellis infers that "Catullus seems to have understood the words in this literal sense; Prot. began a house which he did not live to finish (*Inceptam frustra*) the anger of the gods for his neglect of the proper preliminary sacrifices having determined his premature death." But a second, "less literal interpretation," continues Ellis, "was current in antiquity and seems to have been the more accepted one. On this view the house was *incomplete* by losing its nobler half, its lord and master." This sense, however, Ellis rejects for the Catullan context.¹²

If Ellis' successors had considered his remarks in full, some difficulties might never have appeared. But it must be confessed that some of the confusion has to be laid at Ellis' own door, in view of his comment on the next line. Having just linked the omitted sacrifice to Protesilaus' building program, Ellis goes on serenely to contradict himself: "76. HOSTIA, the victim offered in the sacrifice which preceded marriage, *προτέλεια* Eur. I. A. 718, cf. ib. 433. (Alex. Guarinus, Santen)." It would appear that Ellis here has followed earlier scholars without considering his own previous note.¹³ But he does add a qualifying remark: "Possibly however Catullus refers, not to a special nuptial sacrifice, but to the common Homeric notion of sacrifice as necessary to the success of any undertaking, like the wall and trench which were built *θεῶν ἀέκητι* and without offering *τελέεσσας ἐκατόμβας* Il. xii.6-8 (a passage quoted by Santen), and the voyage which is stopped for the same reason *Od. iv.352*."¹⁴ Here Ellis seems to be more nearly on the right track

¹² Ellis' long and complex argument receives the following summary by Thomas (n.1 above) 176, n.2, in a refutation of the "logic" of previous interpretation: "Ellis correctly points out that *domum inceptam frustra*, a free translation of Homer's *δόμος ἡμιτελής* (Il. 2.701), means quite simply that the house became incomplete through the death of Protesilaus, not that the wedding was not fully performed." Ellis, however, took Catullus to mean that the building remained uncompleted because of the untimely death; so too Fordyce (n.13 below).

¹³ Add Vulpius (n.3 above) ad loc.: "Ante nuptias igitur victimae diis mactabantur, praesertim a viris principibus." More recently the sacrifice has been associated with the wedding by Wilhelm Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus* (Stuttgart 1960⁴) 229; M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *Il libro di Catullo* (Torino 1969) 218; and Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus* (London 1970) 386, who is however equivocal. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford 1961) 352, prudently notes "Catullus does not indicate what kind of sacrifice was neglected" and he simply glosses *domum inceptam frustra* as "the *δόμος ἡμιτελής* of Homer . . . , which Protesilaus did not live to finish." H. J. Rose, *OCD* (1970²) 890-891: "Protesilaus had offended the gods by not sacrificing before he began his house (Catullus)."

¹⁴ Ellis (n.11 above) 417.

again. If only he had related these to his earlier considerations!

Too narrowly focused attention on such details as the number of days between preliminary sacrifice and actual wedding ceremonies may cause us to lose sight of Catullus' main thrust. Unlike Homer, he introduces a theme of *hamartia* and explains a familiar tragic ending by an unparalleled initial flaw. Whether or not Catullus was the first to give the story the full outline of a tragic plot in this way, with a tragic complication of character, he certainly makes the tragic development his own by giving emphasis to the beginning, the end, and the lesson:¹⁵ *inceptam frustra . . . docta est amisso . . . uiro* (75, 80). These, and the passion (*flagrans*, 73), are what he insists on. His point then must be, not to lead us to speculate whether a wedding or a building sacrifice was neglected (although his Latin most plausibly implies the latter), but to evoke a whole passionate affair — a husband's building taken in hand with an eye to a bride's love — that came to grief. His version of the affair may also suggest that he was gripped by the dilemma of passion so heroically-tragically intense that it tends to become its own divinity and to pursue its own designs without regard for external sanctions, insufficiently heedful of responsibilities and limits. That he knew something of the risk may perhaps be inferred, for he commemorates the arrival of his own lady at that illicit *domum* in language suitable for an epiphany (70-71):

quo mea se molli candida diua pede
intulit . . .

His prayer, then, to Nemesis may draw especial force from his vision of his own past.

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¹⁵ The legend of course had already been expanded into a tragedy by Euripides, *Protesilaus*, but in what way we do not know, apart from the fact that the wedding took place and the husband left on the same day: see Thomas (n.1 above) 175 n.1. Lenchantin (n.13 above) 218 notes: "Levio aveva scritto una *Protesilaodamia* certo non ignota agli alessandrineggianti."

JUVENAL 10.150

ELLEN FINKELPEARL

rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos

THOUGH the reading *aliosque* of the *deteriores* rather than the certainly corrupt *altosque* of P has been generally accepted and printed by editors,¹ the explanations of these "other elephants" are not altogether convincing. Friedlaender explains, "von einer Elephanten-region (in Mauretanien) bis zu der andern in Aethiopien."² Duff sees Mauretanian and Gaetulian elephants (10.158) as one class and those in the south in Syene (11.124) as another, translating this phrase as "a second race of elephants."³ The obvious objection in both cases is that no first race of elephants is mentioned. The suggestion of Eric Laughton (CR N.S. 6 [1956], 201) that *alios elephantos* is the city of Elephantine is ingenious, but is Juvenal really indirect in this particular way?⁴

I would suggest that the construction here is the one so common in Greek in which ἄλλος is used in apposition to the noun with the meaning "also" or "as well." In the striking example πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων (Pl. *Grg.* 473d) we must obviously translate "of the citizens and the foreigners *as well*."⁵ This construction is not uncommon in Latin; it appears in the colloquial style of Plautus: AC: salvast navis, ne time. CH: quid alia armenta? AC: salva et sana sunt (*Merc.* 174-75). It is quite frequent in Livy, as, for example: *circa moenia aliasque portas* (5.39.3).⁶ It even appears in the unadorned style of Pliny the Elder: *nubila, tonitrua, et alia fulmina* (*Nat.* 2.102), as well as in several

¹ That the reading of P was originally *aliosque* is clear from the marginal gloss *praeter Indicos*, not to mention the citation in Priscian (G.L.K. ii.217).

² Ludwig Friedlaender, *Saturarum Libri V* (Leipzig, 1895) p. 469.

³ J. D. Duff, *Fourteen Satires of Juvenal*, new ed. (Cambridge, 1970) p. 338.

⁴ In Laughton's other parallels (10.50 and 10.171) Juvenal makes it quite clear that he is referring to places (*patria, urbem*) as is the case with all the examples of indirectness in Mayor's note to 10.171 which Laughton cites.

⁵ See Kühner-Gerth I, 275 A.1; LSJ ἄλλος II.8.

⁶ Also in Livy 4.41.8; 7.8.1; 21.2.4; 21.27.5; 24.30.14; 25.13.10.

other authors.⁷ If taken in this way, Juvenal is simply saying that the boundaries of Africa extend to "the Aethiopian people and the elephants as well," making a suitably ridiculous climax to an otherwise serious geography.

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⁷ Also Lucretius I.116; Vergil *G.* 3.101; Cicero, *Verr. act. pr.* 47; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.42; Apuleius, *Met.* 10.18. See *TLL* I.1625.75 f; *OLD* alius 5; Kühner-Stegmann I, 651 n.16.

THE DATE OF TACITUS' *DIALOGUS*

CHARLES E. MURGIA

MOST scholars today accept a date for Tacitus' *Dialogus* of 101 or 102 for writing, perhaps as late as 107 for publication.¹ The date

The first part of this paper was delivered, in briefer form, at the APA convention in December 1978. The paper has benefited from the criticism of W. S. Anderson, John M. Dillon, and Robert Renehan.

I cite the following works by author's name (or name and date when confusion is possible): J. G. C. Anderson, ed., *Cornelii Taciti de Origine et Situ Germanorum* (Oxford 1938); H. Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris 1940); idem, "Dialogue des Orateurs et Institution oratoire," *REL* 19 (1941) 113-131; Karl Barwick, "Der *Dialogus de Oratoribus* des Tacitus," *BVSA* 101 (1954) nr. 4; J. Beaujeau, "Pline le Jeune 1955-1960," *Lustrum* 6 (1961) 290; R. T. Bruère, "Tacitus and Pliny's *Panegyricus*," *CP* 49 (1954) 161-179; Alan Cameron, "Tacitus and the Date of Curiatius Maternus' Death," *CR* 17 (1967) 258-261; M. P. Charlesworth and G. B. Townend, "Tacitus" in *OCD* (1970) 1034; R. Dienel, "Quintilian und der Rednerdialog des Tacitus," *Wiener Studien* 37 (1915) 239-271; Manfred Fuhrmann, "Tacitus," *Der Kleine Pauly* (Munich 1975) 488; R. Güngerich, "Der *Dialogus* des Tacitus und Quintilians *Institutio Oratoria*," *CP* 46 (1951) 159-164; idem, "Tacitus' *Dialogus* und der *Panegyricus* des Plinius," *Festschrift für B. Snell z. 60 Geburtstag*, ed. H. Erbse (Munich 1956) 145-152; U. Hass-von Reitzenstein, *Beiträge zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Interpretation des Dialogus "de oratoribus"* (diss. Cologne 1970); A. Kappelmacher, "Zur Abfassungszeit von Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus*," *Wiener Studien* 50 (1932) 121-129; F. Leo, review of A. Gudeman, ed., *Tacitus Dialogus* (Boston 1894) *GGA* (1898) 169-188 (= *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* [Rome 1960] II 277-298); A. Michel, ed., *P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus* (Paris 1962); C. E. Murgia, "Loci Conclamati in the Minor Works of Tacitus," *CSCA* 11 (1978) 159-178; E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Berlin 1922); R. M. Ogilvie (with I. Richmond), ed., *Cornelii Taciti de Vita Agricolae* (Oxford 1967); A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966); R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958); G. Williams, *Change and Decline* (Berkeley 1978); M. Winterbottom (with D. A. Russell), ed., *Ancient Literary Criticism* (Oxford 1972).

¹ Among scholars favoring a date of 101-102, or "after 100," are Cameron 260, Charlesworth and Townend, Fuhrmann, Güngerich (1956) 145 ff, Syme 672 (following Kappelmacher 121 ff), Williams 27, Winterbottom 432. Syme wavers between a date of 101 and 107, and Michel (2) believed that the work was composed between 102 and 106, and published toward 106.

102 is the consulship of Fabius Justus, to whom the work is addressed: it was not uncommon to dedicate a work to someone at the time of his consulship, or so the argument goes.² But this is a stab in the dark. It is much more common for the dedicatee not to be consul or consul designate. For instance, although Statius died in 96, *Silvae* 1 is dedicated to Lucius Arruntius Stella, who was not consul until 101 at the earliest, near the same time as Fabius Justus.³ *Silvae* 4 is dedicated to Vitorius Marcellus, who was not consul until 105.⁴ *Silvae* 4.4.60 identifies Marcellus as *curator viae Latinae*, not consul, in 95, the date of the poem.⁵ About this time, Marcellus was also one of the dedicatees of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, published in 95–96.⁶ In these examples, drawn from the period contemporary with Tacitus and Fabius Justus, dedication precedes the consulship by up to a decade. Since Fabius Justus appears in a letter of Pliny of January 97⁷ as a close and influential friend of Pliny, there is no problem with his being an equally close and distinguished friend of Tacitus as early as 96–97, if not earlier. Further, works dedicated to a consul (as Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*) normally mention the consulship.⁸ In making no reference to Justus' consulship, Tacitus would have violated convention in an otherwise highly conventional work.⁹ I know of no clear precedent for omitting mention of the consulship, if the dedicatee is indeed consul.

A *terminus post quem* of 96 is secure. As convincingly shown by Güngerich,¹⁰ the *Dialogus* shows knowledge, nay misinterpretation, of

² Syme (672) lists Virgil, *E.* 4 to Pollio, Velleius Paterculus to M. Vinicius (*cos.* 30), Martial 12.2 to L. Arruntius Stella.

³ See Syme 655 n.3, 666. *Silvae* 1 is dated about 92.

⁴ See Syme 655 and 667.

⁵ So Syme 667.

⁶ The *terminus ante quem* is the death of Domitian in September 18, 96. For the date of the *Institutio* see J. Cousin in "Problèmes biographiques et littéraires relatifs à Quintilien," *REL* 9 (1931) 71–74.

⁷ *Ep.* 1.5.8. On the date, see Sherwin-White 93.

⁸ I concede that the claim is partly circular, since the reason we recognize a work as dedicated to a consul is normally that the consulship is mentioned. We lack the beginning of Velleius Paterculus' history, but the consulship of M. Vinicius is mentioned frequently within the history (starting with 1.8.1). It is likely that the lost beginning contained a dedication which mentioned the consulship. For the evidence of the closest precedents for the *Dialogus*' beginning, see the Appendix.

⁹ On the conventionality of the proem, see the Appendix, and Hass-von Reitzenstein 10–34, Cameron 260.

¹⁰ Güngerich (1951) was preceded by Dienel and Bardon (1941). Güngerich showed that Tacitus misunderstood Quintilian's use of *infirmus*: in *Dial.* 20.1 Tacitus applied *infirmitas* to a protestation of ill health by Messala Corvinus in

Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (published in 95–96). For internal evidence, the tone of the *Dialogus* is of a mature man recalling a conversation heard when he was *iuvenis admodum* (1.2) at the dramatic date (75),¹¹ and *Agricola* 3.2–3 is usually taken as implying that Tacitus published nothing under Domitian (81–96). Although the argument from *Agricola* 3.2–3 is not as strong as many scholars seem to think, publication of the *Dialogus* under Domitian, particularly the later Domitian, would have been risky. Since Leo,¹² the difference in style from Tacitus' other works has been taken as reflecting a difference in genre and not requiring a theory of development of style.

Agr. 3.2–3 merits a closer look, since some scholars have tried to extract from it a *terminus post quem* of 98. So Leo¹³ sees in it a claim that the *Agricola* is Tacitus' "Erstlingsschrift," and Syme (671) states: "Tacitus in the *Agricola* (3.2f.) does much more than merely imply that the biography is his first publication." The interpretation does not bear up under close examination. The relevant words of the *Agricola* are: *quid, si per quindecim annos . . . multi . . . interciderunt, pauci . . . superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus? non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse.*

The appositions attached to the first sentence make it clear that the "we" is not a substitute for "I" but is general: a few, who kept silent under Domitian, survived the fifteen years, with those who were young men (*iuvenes*) at the beginning reaching old age, and those who were

his prefaces, when Quintilian (4.1.8) meant the use of the rhetorical topos which he exemplified in *Inst.* 1. pr. 22.

Although this example of Güngerich is the single clearest proof of the direction of influence, the other examples of Güngerich, Dienel, and Bardon are also useful, since by their quantity and distribution through the whole *Institutio* they render untenable a theory that the *Dialogus* and the *Institutio* simply share a common source (such as an earlier work of Quintilian).

¹¹ The dramatic date is established by *Dial.* 17.3 as the sixth year of Vespasian's reign. This has been variously calculated as 74 or 75, depending on the date accepted for the beginning of Vespasian's reign (see Syme 670 f). But the other calculations in the chapter add up to a total of 118 years after the death of Cicero, and that, by inclusive reckoning, brings us to 75. It does not matter when Vespasian reckoned his *dies imperii*, since Tacitus clearly reckoned 69 as the year of the three emperors (not four), and counted 70 as effectively Vespasian's first year.

¹² Leo 175–183 (*Kleine Schriften* II 284–293).

¹³ Leo 174 (*Kleine Schriften* II 283): "Er bezeichnet mit diesen Worten den *Agricola* deutlich als seine Erstlingsschrift."

already old (*senes*) reaching almost the limits of their life. The claim of silence under Domitian becomes something of a *topos*, which Pliny imitates in his *Panegyricus* (66.4-5): *iubes esse liberos: erimus; iubes quae sentimus promere in medium: proferemus. neque enim adhuc ignavia quadam et insito torpore cessavimus: terror et metus et misera illa ex periculis facta prudentia monebat ut a re publica . . . oculos aures animos averteremus. at nunc . . . ora reseramus frenatamque tot malis linguam resolvimus*.¹⁴

Pliny cannot mean by the above words that the *Panegyricus* is his first public oration. He was one of the prosecutors of Baebius Massa in 93, a trial which brought trouble to his fellow prosecutor.¹⁵ Pliny speaks of a general discretion under Domitian.

So too, though Tacitus may not have published any written work under Domitian, his words do not state that: to do so, they would have to mean that no one who survived Domitian had published anything, and that is demonstrably false. The words do class Tacitus with those who had practiced discretion, and the particular reference is to the writing of *clarorum virorum facta moresque* (*Agr.* 1.1), which brought death to Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio (*Agr.* 2.1). The words constitute an apology for not publishing sooner the life of *Agricola*: it was too risky.

Now the chief character of the *Dialogus* is Curiatius Maternus, who is introduced the day after he is believed to have offended Vespasian by a public reading of his tragedy *Cato*. Some scholars,¹⁶ with whom I agree, draw the implication from the *Dialogus* that Maternus shortly met his end as a result of the emperor's displeasure. If so, a striking potential parallel exists between Tacitus and Arulenus Rusticus: Arulenus met his end for "praising"¹⁷ Paetus Thrasea, who had been executed under Nero after composing a life of Cato. The *Dialogus* is not a biography, but its favorable treatment of Maternus would have been no less peril-

¹⁴ Cf. *Agr.* 3.1 *nunc demum redit animus*, which I take to be an allusion to Verg. *E.* 4.6 *iam redit et virgo*. The point of the allusion would be to suggest that Nerva and Trajan are ushering in a Golden Age of *libertas*: see *beatissimi saeculi ortu* in the following sentence. No child has been born, but Trajan has just been adopted.

¹⁵ Herennius Senecio: see Plin. *Ep.* 7.33.7.

¹⁶ E.g., Cameron, Hass-von Reitzenstein 37, Williams 34.

¹⁷ Ogilvie 13 f takes the works of Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio to belong not to biography but to a genre of "accounts of the deaths of great and good men." It seems to me that in the verb *laudati essent* Tacitus has deliberately used a vague term that would encompass favorable treatment in a wide range of genres.

ous, and it falls within the rubric of *laus* attributed to Arulenus Rusticus. Unlike Arulenus, Tacitus was not executed under Domitian, but prospered, and probably owed to Domitian even his designation as consul suffectus for 97. It does not seem that a composition of the *Dialogus* under Domitian is compatible either with Tacitus' declaration of discretion in *Agr.* 3.2 or with political reality.¹⁸

I have little doubt that Tacitus, like Pliny, did practice public oratory under Domitian. We know from Pliny¹⁹ that Tacitus had achieved fame (presumably as an orator) when Pliny was a youth. The pose of Tacitus at the beginning of the *Dialogus* is of responding to repeated requests from Fabius Justus to explain the decline of oratory: the requests are properly addressed only to a recognized master in the field. The very quality of the *Agricola* is attestation to Tacitus' rhetorical skill. Tacitus' silence then is unlikely to have extended to public oratory (though his discretion doubtless did), and public oratory is a form of publication in the basic meaning of the word. Therefore when Tacitus predicts that he will someday write history *vel incondita ac rudi voce*, he is employing a *topos*.²⁰ The history may be his first history, but it will not be his first publication. If nothing else, the *Agricola* will come first, as he tells us in the very next sentence.²¹

Is the *Agricola* at least Tacitus' first venture at praising *clarorum virorum facta moresque*? Hardly. In 97, as consul suffectus, Tacitus had the task of eulogizing the deceased Verginius Rufus.²² Tacitus' "silence" had already ended before the *Agricola* was composed. There is no basis for seeing in *Agricola* 3.2–3 a declaration that the *Agricola* is Tacitus' first publication.

The secure *terminus post quem* is therefore the death of Domitian in September 96. For *terminus ante quem* most scholars accept 107, since

¹⁸ The dangers of the *Dialogus* are not limited to praise of Maternus, but follow from its main thesis, that political factors, notably the imperial system, are responsible for the decline of oratory.

¹⁹ *Ep.* 7.20.4 *adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreret, te sequi . . . concupiscebam*. Compare the reaction of *iuvenes et adulescentes* to the orator in *Dial.* 7.3.

²⁰ Cf. Ogilvie's comment on the line. Similarly the learned reader of Verg. *E.* 2.4 f (*ibi haec incondita solus / montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani*) should expect what he actually receives: a very polished poem.

²¹ *Agr.* 3.3 *hic interim honori Agricolae . . .*

²² Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.6. A discreet eulogy of Verginius Rufus could probably have been given under Domitian: Verginius had in his own lifetime been celebrated in poems and histories (Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.2). But the eulogy that Tacitus actually delivered is likely to have involved some of the same risks that the extant *Agricola* would have raised: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.3, Syme 121.

a phrase of the *Dialogus* (9.6; 12.1) is attributed to Tacitus by Pliny in a letter (9.10.2) of that year;²³ also, Regulus (half-brother of Messala), who died toward 106, is only obliquely referred to, and with a discretion that implies that he was still alive.²⁴ Some scholars wish the publication to have been in 107, supposed to be the year when Pliny (*Ep.* 7.20.1, 8.7) mentions a *liber* that Tacitus had sent him.²⁵ But Sherwin-White is probably correct in referring it to the *Histories*.²⁶

An earlier terminus is indicated by Bruère's proof²⁷ that Pliny's *Panegyricus* (delivered 100, revised 101)²⁸ has many imitations of the *Dialogus*.

I believe that a still earlier *terminus* can be derived from apparent influence of the *Dialogus* on the *Agricola* (which was written in 97–98)²⁹ and the *Germania* (written in 98).³⁰ The *Dialogus* has long been recognized to borrow freely from works in the same genre, notably the

²³ *Ep.* 9.10.2. For the date see Sherwin-White 487. The attribution has often been challenged, since the phrase (*in[ter] nemora et lucos*) is a conventional one. Although the reference would be weak evidence that Tacitus composed the *Dialogus*, once the *Dialogus* is accepted as by Tacitus, it is difficult not to see in the phrase and the similarity of context a reference to the *Dialogus*.

²⁴ See Michel 12. Syme (102) puts the death of Regulus about 105.

²⁵ See Syme 672. The proper meaning of *liber* is "papyrus roll."

²⁶ Sherwin-White 427, 456. He understands the two letters as referring to two different *libri* — correctly, I believe.

²⁷ Bruère was followed by Güngerich (1956).

²⁸ Our evidence for the revision is Pliny, *Ep.* 3.18; see M. Durry, *Pline le jeune, Panegyrique de Trajan* (Paris 1938) 14. Beaujeau argues that the *Panegyricus* could not have been published before 103, since it predicts (allegedly *post eventum*) Trajan's triumph over the Dacians at the end of 102 or beginning of 103. But it was a convention to predict the victory of *princeps* or *Caesar* in whatever campaign was coming, and Pliny could hardly have omitted such a prediction from his speech in 100. Examples exist of such predictions unfulfilled, as Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.33 ff (predicting Augustus' triumph over the Sygambri), and, most dangerously for Ovid, his description of Gaius' anticipated triumph in *A.A.* 1.77–216 — a triumph which Gaius never earned or lived to celebrate. It is true that we cannot be sure that there were no revisions of the *Panegyricus* after 101, but the image of Pliny busily cribbing from Tacitus to pad a work that had already tripled in size by 101 is less than charming.

²⁹ *Agr.* 3.1 is usually taken to be written before the death of Nerva in January 98, since Nerva (not called *divus*) seems to be spoken of as if still alive. In *Agr.* 44.5 Trajan is spoken of as *princeps*, and so this passage must have been written after January 98. The evidence of *Agr.* 3.1 would not withstand skeptical examination (see Oglivie 11), but see above, n.14 for a reason to suspect that *Agr.* 3.1 was composed shortly after Nerva's adoption of Trajan (October 97), and see later in this paper for evidence of diction that the *Agricola* antedates the *Germania*.

³⁰ The date is fixed by *Germ.* 37.2 as the second consulship of Trajan.

dialogues of Cicero and works on education, including Quintilian's *Institutio* and probably other works dependent, as Quintilian is sometimes dependent, on Chrysippus. The Chrysippus is reconstructed by agreements between Quintilian (who refers to Chrysippus by name) and the pseudo-Plutarchan work on the education of children, which forms the first essay in published editions of Plutarch's *Moralia*.³¹ We are particularly concerned with chapters 28–29 and 34 of the *Dialogus*, where the resemblances to Cicero, Quintilian, and pseudo-Plutarch are strong. The chapters fall within a speech of Messala, who attempts to prove that the decline of oratory results from a decline in education.

Dial. 28.4 nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis.

28.5 sic Corneliā Gracchorum, sic Aureliā Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti matrem praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus.

29.1 at nunc infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus.³²

The reference to Cornelia traces back to Cicero's *Brutus* 104 and 211, and to Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.1.6, which is itself indebted to Cicero.

Cic. *Brut.* 104 fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus . . .

211 legimus epistulas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam gremio (in gremio vulg.) educatos quam in sermone matris (Cicero goes on to compare Laelia).

³¹ See Gudeman *xcix–cii*. Gudeman pointed to close resemblances between the *Dialogus*, pseudo-Plutarch, and Quintilian, in passages for which Quintilian gave his source as Chrysippus. Since Gudeman dated the *Dialogus* well before Quintilian, he had no problem in reconstructing Chrysippus as the common source of the three. Now however we know that Tacitus sometimes borrowed from Quintilian himself. Nevertheless comparison with [Plutarch] shows that the *Dialogus* sometimes reproduces a common source independently of Quintilian (see Gudeman *ci–cii*). That source should be either Chrysippus or some work dependent on him. Some elements of the *Dialogus*, such as the reference (*Dial.* 28.5) to Atia the mother of Augustus, imply the use (at least some of the time) of a postrepublican source.

Parallels to the *Dialogus* in Cicero and Quintilian are listed by Diemel 252n.

³² For another passage in this section of the *Dialogus* that indicates borrowing, compare 29.1 particularly with Cic. *Tusc.* 3.2, [Plut]. *Mor.* 3e, Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.4–5, 1.1.36, 1.3.13, and (for *teneri statim et rudes*, which should be read) 1.11.2: see my "Notes on the *Dialogus* of Tacitus," *CP* 74 (1979) 247–249.

Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.6 in parentibus vero quam plurimum esse eruditionis optaverim. nec de patribus tantum loquor: nam *Gracchorum eloquentiae* multum contulisse *accepimus Corneliam matrem*, cuius doctissimus *sermo* in posteros quoque est *epistulis* traditus, et Laelia C. filia reddidisse in loquendo paternam elegantiam dicitur, et Hortensiae Q. filiae oratio apud triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus honorem.

Tacitus owes to Cicero the phrase *gremio educabatur*, and to Quintilian the verb *accepimus* (by which Quintilian meant that he got the information from Cicero and had not himself read the letters; *dicitur* of Laelia means the same thing, with *variatio* of vocabulary). To Quintilian also Tacitus owes the comparison to three females, though he has dropped Laelia and Hortensia for more suitable examples. Another element that characterizes the passage of the *Dialogus* is the emphasis on the chastity of the mother: this finds its parallel in pseudo-Plutarch (*Mor.* 1a-b and 3c), who advises fathers not to mate with just any woman, specifically not with prostitutes, and that mothers should rear their children at their own breasts, as implied also in Messala's (28.4) *non in cella emptae nutricis . . . educabatur*.

In *Agr.* 4.2, we find a similar emphasis on the chastity of Agricola's mother — conventional praise in some circumstances, but not so far as I am aware a bibliographic *topos* before Tacitus.³³ The most relevant section goes:³⁴

³³ Reference to chastity is a *topos* in epitaphs, as Ogilvie points out in his comment on the line: see *CIL* 6.8508 *rarissimae castitatis*, *CIL* 9.1893 *rarae castitatis*. It is therefore conventional to eulogize a woman on her death by praising her *rara castitas*. What is not known to be conventional before Tacitus is to praise a man after his death on the basis of the *castitas* of his mother. Since *rara castitas* is conventional praise of a woman, I doubt that it refers specifically to Julia's not remarrying after the death of her husband. In *Agr.* 4.2 the praise is linked with her attention to the education of her son, and that, I expect, is the connection that it has in Tacitus' mind.

³⁴ Other parallels between this section of the *Agricola* and the *Dialogus* include the description of Agricola's father (4.1) as *studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus*, which should be compared with Messala's claim (*Dial.* 30-32) that the orator should study philosophy — a claim for which he names (30.3) Cicero in the Brutus for precedent; similarly the mention of Agricola's own early devotion to philosophy (compare particularly *hauriret* in *Dial.* 28.6 and *haurire* in *Dial.* 31.7 with *hausisse* in *Agr.* 4.3); the description (5.1) of Agricola's first military training, in which he attached himself to Suetonius Paulinus and followed the procedure *discere a peritis, sequi optimos* — a procedure analogous to that of the budding orator in *Dial.* 34.1. Also noteworthy is the cause of the death of Agricola's father (4.1): *namque Marcum Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est* — a statement which gains extra meaning when compared with the claim of Aper (*Dial.* 10.6.8) that it is safer to be an orator than a poet, and Maternus' response (*Dial.* 13.4-6).

mater Iulia Procilla fuit, *raae castitatis. in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus* per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit.

Here too, *in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus* seems to be a reminiscence of *Dial.* 28.4 *gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*, of which the indebtedness to Brutus 211 *non tam gremio educatos* is guaranteed by the remaining context.

The same passage of the *Dialogus* finds further reminiscence in *Germania* 20.1 Here the rearing of the Germans is described:

sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur.

The first part of the sentence finds its closest parallel in pseudo-Plutarch (*Mor.* 3c), though that is not its source. The latter part of the sentence, *nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur*, draws its thought and diction from two passages, *Dial.* 28.4 *non in cella emptae nutricis* and *Dial.* 29.1 *delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae*.

Another passage of the *Germania* that seems to borrow from the *Dialogus* is 13.1–2. Tacitus there describes the bar mizvah, as it were, of the young German warrior: his taking of arms and entrance into public life, which Tacitus compares to a Roman's donning of the toga.

tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel *pater vel propinqui* scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos *toga*, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita *principis* dignationem etiam adulescentibus *adsignant*; ceteri³⁵ *robustioribus* ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici.

The phrase *pater vel propinqui* is an odd one. Why switch to the plural?³⁶ If a chief or a father alone can introduce the youth to his public duties, why not a single male relative? But the same combination is to be found in *Dial.* 34.1:

Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, inbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, *deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis* ad eum oratorem qui *principem* in civitate locum obtinebat.

Tacitus goes on to say that the youth followed the orator everywhere, drank in his speeches, and learned to fight, so to speak, in battle.³⁷ Now

³⁵ I accept Lipsius' *ceteri* for the transmitted *ceteris*.

³⁶ It is therefore no surprise that *propinquus* is a variant (correctly rejected by most editors).

³⁷ *Dial.* 34.2 *hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgis interesset utque sic dixerim pugnare in proelio disceret.*

this section is obligated to many passages in Cicero and Quintilian, but the most apt for our immediate purpose is *Laelius* 1:

ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem.

The verb *deducere* is shared by Cicero, the *Dialogus*, and the *Germania*. The time is specified as the adoption of the *toga virilis* in Cicero, probably understood as such in the *Dialogus*,³⁸ and the comparison is made to the *toga* in the *Germania*. The option of introduction by *propinqui*, shared by *Dialogus* and *Germania*, has no parallel in Cicero or Quintilian, or any other source of which I am aware.³⁹

So far we have a number of similarities in thought and diction between the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* or *Germania* in sections where the *Dialogus* is massively indebted to Cicero and Quintilian and probably also to lost works on education. The most reasonable direction of movement is from Cicero and Quintilian into the *Dialogus* and thence into the *Agricola* and *Germania*. The *Dialogus* should then have been written in 97, after the publication of the *Institutio* and the death of Domitian (96), but before the publication of the *Agricola* and *Germania* (98). It may be objected that many of the similarities are commonplaces. I agree. But they seem to be commonplaces of the genre of the *Dialogus*. Therefore their prominence in the *Agricola* and *Germania* seems likely to reflect the proximity of the writing and research for the *Dialogus*.

Further, there is good reason to suspect that the similarities we have been discussing are allusive. The similarities are numerous relative to the size of the passages, consistent, and are found in passages concerning closely similar situations. If they are considered to be allusive, they make sense alluding from the *Agricola* and *Germania* to the *Dialogus*, not vice versa: the education of *Agricola*, the rearing of Germans today, resemble the rearing and education of the great Romans of old. The last passage of the *Germania* makes the comparison partly explicit, by comparing the German youth to a Roman adopting his toga—Germans are being compared to Romans, not Romans to Germans.

There is one further verbal reminiscence, this one an unconscious one, which makes the direction of travel in this passage clear. In *Dial.*

³⁸ This fact affects the determination of the year of Tacitus' birth. Tacitus represents himself in 75 as *iuvenis admodum* engaged in the apprenticeship that a youth would commence on assumption of his *toga virilis* and would continue until he embarked upon his independent career.

³⁹ It is however consistent with the emphasis that Tacitus places throughout on the role of relatives. So in *Dial.* 28.4, a *propinqua* aids the mother in raising the child.

35.4, Messala defines the studies of the rhetorical schools: *suasoriae . . . pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur*. By *robustiores* Tacitus means the more robust in age, the more mature. This contrast of *pueri* and *robustiores* is found once⁴⁰ before Tacitus — in Quintilian *Inst.* 1.8.12: *Verum priora illa ad pueros magis, haec sequentia ad robustiores pertinebunt*. In view of the abundance of imitations in the *Dialogus* of *Institutio* 1, most of which have been collected by Dienel, Bardon, and Güngerich, we should have no hesitation in seeing Quintilian as Tacitus' inspiration for the contrast here. Within the sentence of the *Dialogus*, the words *robustioribus* and *adsignantur* adjoin each other. The same words, *adsignant* and *robustioribus*, occur in *Germ.* 13.2 separated by a single word, though not grammatically related: *adsignant; ceteri robustioribus* (cited above). The words meet the criteria for an unconscious reminiscence: they come in clusters (the one presumably recalling the other), and they fall within a passage having several other verbal similarities to the same section of the *Dialogus*, though these particular words refer to dissimilar activities.⁴¹ Since we know that Tacitus got *robustioribus* of the *Dialogus* from Quintilian, it follows that *robustioribus* and *adsignant* of the *Germania* reflect movement from the *Dialogus* into the *Germania*, not vice versa. The *Dialogus* was written in 97.

I consider now some potential objections to my mode of argument. The first is that some of the words on which my argument is based are more or less common. For instance, in *Germ.* 13.1–2, of the words which I have italicized, *pater*, *propinqui*, *toga*, *principis* are common, *adsignant* is less common,⁴² and only *robustioribus* can be judged uncommon (in Tacitus *robustus* occurs only in the two passages of *Dial.* and *Germ.* cited, and in *Germ.* 24.2 *quamvis iuvenior*, *quamvis robustior*, where *robustior* means "stronger"; it does not seem to have been part of

⁴⁰ Once, that is, in so neat an antithesis. The use of *robustus*, often in some sort of opposition to *pueri*, is a favorite of Quintilian: see, e.g., *Inst.* 1.1.9, 2.2.14, 10.1.131, 10.5.1. By contrast, *robustus* is used by Tacitus only here in the *Dialogus* and twice in the *Germania*.

⁴¹ For such unconscious reminiscence, compare *Dial.* 36.1 (as cited by Decembrio) *rem cogitare, nihil abiectum, nihil humile eloqui poterat* with Cic. *Fin.* 5.57 *nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant*, where *cogitant* has a different function from Tacitus' *cogitare*.

The habit of authors to repeat their own words in clusters, even in different contexts, constructions, or senses, renders improbable attempts to seclude all or part of in *melius* in *Agr.* 24.2 in *melius aditus*, which seems to be recalled in *Ann.* 12.33 *ut aditus . . . in melius essent*: see Murgia 162–164.

⁴² Gerber and Greef cite eleven examples in Tacitus: three in the *Dialogus*, three in the *Germania*, four in the *Histories*, and one in the *Annals*.

Tacitus' normal literary vocabulary when he wrote the *Histories* and *Annals*). What is not often realized is that the chances against coincidental occurrence increase geometrically, not arithmetically, with the number of apparent coincidences. That is, if the odds against a particular word's occurring in a given context are ten to one, the odds against two words' of such probability coincidentally occurring in the same context are one hundred to one ($1/10^2$). The odds against three such occurrences are one thousand to one, and against nine such occurrences are a billion to one ($1/10^9$). Even common words, when modest odds against their chance occurrence are multiplied in, quite quickly lead to astronomical odds. They are not "weak links" in an argument. The evidence is not merely cumulative, it is "multiplicative."

So though it is not extraordinary as a single datum that two such works use the same word *robustiores*, it is quite remarkable that both would contrast it to *pueri* (and not *iuvenes*, *adulescentes*, *teneri*, *rudes*, or some other word meaning "young," "weak," or "inexperienced"). It is even more remarkable that two works would juxtapose *adsignant* and *robustioribus* — the more remarkable in that *adsignare* is a rarer word than *pueri*: two out of eleven instances of *adsignare* in Tacitus, juxtaposed to two out of three occurrences of *robustiores*.⁴³ That this juxtaposition would occur by mere chance in proximity to several other similarities in thought and diction is prohibitively improbable.

The next objection is likely to be that of course the similarities are not through mere chance: both *Dialogus* and *Germania* were composed by Tacitus, and the similarities reflect the thought and style of a single author. To a certain extent this is true. It is interesting to note the consistency of thought in *Dialogus*, *Agricola*, and *Germania* that most sets them off from Chrysippus, Quintilian, and pseudo-Plutarch when they appear to say similar things. Where Quintilian as an educator stresses the need to find good pedagogues and teachers (*Inst.* 1.1.10-11;

⁴³ If there should be one hundred fifty thousand words in Tacitus, we would expect *adsignare* and *robustiores* to be juxtaposed by chance in Tacitus only once every seven hundred million words or so ($11/150,000 \times 3/150,000$). In a given Tacitean work of seven thousand words (approximate size of the *Germania*), the odds against the conjunction occurring coincidentally would then be one hundred thousand to one, the odds against occurrence in a given passage of one hundred words would be seven million to one.

The relative frequency of *adsignare* and *robustiores* is much greater in the *Dialogus* and *Germania* than in Tacitus as a whole, but this very frequency reflects the tendency of an author to repeat a word once used. Therefore the whole of the Tacitean corpus provides a better indication of the rate of occurrence as Tacitean vocabulary (rather than influenced by a conscious or unconscious model).

1.2), Chrysippus (*apud* Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.4) and pseudo-Plutarch (*Mor.* 3f-4b) the need to find good Greek slaves, in the *Dialogus* "Messala" puts the emphasis in education on the family — a chaste mother (28.4), a female relative (28.4), the father or relatives to introduce the youth to a *princeps* whose train he would follow (34.1). The same emphases are found in the *Agricola* and *Germania*: in the *Agricola* a mention of the role of his mother in Agricola's education (4.2), and of his apprenticeship to Suetonius Paulinus (5.1), but no naming of professional educators — though the last is a commonplace of many biographies; in the *Germania*, the chastity of wives (19),⁴⁴ the mother nourishing the child at her own breast (20.1), the importance of family relations (20.3-21.1), the possible role of father or relatives in introducing the youth to public life, whereupon some end up in the train of a *princeps*. Contrast Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.3 (*ante memoriam meam . . . ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente*), whose concern is with the rank of the person introducing the youth to public life, not his relationship. Scholars who have denied Tacitean authorship, or even argued that the *Dialogus* was composed by Quintilian, have generally displayed a singular lack of perception of the mind and personality of these authors. Nor can I agree with those⁴⁵ who claim that Messala in the *Dialogus* is the spokesman for the views of Quintilian, and Maternus for the views of Tacitus. To some extent all the characters express Tacitus' views, and to some extent none of them do. The real Tacitus is not to be found in any one character's *ipsissima verba*, but must be deduced from them all.

All the minor works do bear the stamp of Tacitus' mind and style. But men are not born with their habits of thought and speech. They arise from their circumstances and the interplay of their native intelligence and their experience, including vicarious experience — what they have read, and even what they have written. That the thought and diction shared in the passages discussed reflect simply Tacitus' mind and style is rendered untenable as a reasonable explanation by the demonstration that in the *Dialogus* they reflect in part the influence of its generic models. One reason why some have been misled into denying the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus* is the extent to which its style (shaped though it is by Tacitus' intellect) reflects the style of its models. The *Agricola* and *Germania* also reflect the style of their generic models, but they reflect as well the style of the *Dialogus*.

⁴⁴ Note that the chastity extends even to not remarrying (19.2). Note also *Germ.* 20.3 *sui cuique liberi*, and compare *Dial.* 28.4 *suus cuique filius*.

⁴⁵ E.g., Barwick 8-19.

Some may argue that the examples cited above prove only that Tacitus was thinking about the *Dialogus* when he composed the *Agricola* and *Germania*. Similarities of thought could be so explained, but the resemblances of diction do not exist outside the written page. *Agr.* 4.2 *in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus* is not influenced directly by *Brut.* 211 *gremio educatos . . . matris*⁴⁶ but by its amplification in *Dial.* 28.4 *gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*; the introduction of the young German to public life by *pater vel propinqui* in *Germ.* 13.1 is not directly indebted to *Lael.* 1 *a patre . . . deductus*, but through *Dial.* 34.1 *deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis*; the juxtaposition of *adsignant . . . robustioribus* in *Germ.* 13.2 is not owed to Quintilian's contrast of *pueros* and *robustiores* in *Inst.* 1.8.12, but to 'Tacitus' *pueris delegantur . . . robustioribus adsignantur* in *Dial.* 35.4, and the latter juxtaposition does not exist until the sentence has been written.

If the reader accepts that some passages are intentionally allusive, it also follows that the *Dialogus* was published before the *Agricola* and *Germania*. Priority of the *Dialogus* is also supported by negative evidence. If the three works were even contemporary, we should expect to find instances in the *Agricola* or *Germania* of imitation of their own generic models, which in turn may have been imitated by the *Dialogus*. It is the test of the method that it does not seem to work in reverse. It is true that we lack some potential models of the *Agricola* and *Germania*. But we have enough to indicate an order of composition of *Agricola* > *Germania* > *Histories*.

For instance, a reader who compares Sall. *Jug.* 17 with *Agr.* 10–12 will not miss the general similarity in structure of Sallust's description of Africa and Tacitus' description of Britain. The pattern may reflect ethnographic conventions,⁴⁷ but they did not become conventions until someone used them and someone imitated the use. One need only contrast Caesar's description of Britain in *B.G.* 5.12–14, or Pliny's in *N.H.* 4.16, to see that the diction and structure are not necessary. In view of the admitted influence of the *Jugurtha* on the rest of the *Agricola*,⁴⁸ it would violate Occam's razor not to see Sallust as a major influence on *Agr.* 10–12.

⁴⁶ The correct reading in *Brutus* 211 is probably <in> *gremio*, but I list the transmitted reading, since it is not clear that this differed from the text that Tacitus used.

⁴⁷ Ogilvie 27, 164–166, and in his comments on the lines explains most of the examples that I cite as conventions of ethnography. Unfortunately most of his evidence that they are such conventions consists in the fact that the language is shared by the *Jugurtha*, *Agricola*, and *Germania*. Similarities found shared by other works with *Jugurtha* and *Agricola* are scattered and generally not as close.

⁴⁸ See Ogilvie 23–25.

Among the similarities in diction, we find in almost the same order *Jug.* 17.1 *Africae situm* (*Agr.* 10.1 *Britanniae situm*), *Jug.* 17.2 *haud facile conpertum* (*Agr.* 10.1 *nondum comperta* and 11.1 *parum compertum*), *Jug.* 17.5 *ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus* and 17.6 *genus hominum . . . patiens laborum* (*Agr.* 12.5 *solum praeter oleam vitemque . . . patiens frugum pecudumque fecundum*), *Jug.* 17.7 *sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint* (*Agr.* 11.1 *ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint*).

Sallust is not the only influence upon *Agr.* 10–12. The information does not come from Sallust. We are given a clue to the sources in *Agr.* 10.3 (which has no parallel in Sallust): *formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama*. The phrase *in universum* is not attested in Cicero or Caesar (so Lewis and Short, p. 1933) or most other authors (not found in Sallust) but is found in Livy 9.26.8. Since Livy is declared by Tacitus to be one of his sources here, I hope that I will be pardoned for suspecting that the lost passage of Livy (in Book 105) which discussed Britain contained the phrase (perhaps the whole *in universum fama*) and influenced Tacitus in this passage. The argument would not be affected if it was borrowed from Fabius Rusticus, so long as it was borrowed. The phrase *in universum* is not found in the *Dialogus*, but immediately upon its use in *Agr.* 10.3 it becomes a favorite of Tacitus: *Agr.* 11.3 *in universum tamen aestimanti*, *Germ.* 5.1 *in universum tamen*, *Germ.* 6.3 *in universum aestimanti*, *Ann.* 1.12 (*Tiberius*) *respondit . . . cui in universum excusari mallet*. Notice that the last occurs in reported dialogue, and could have been equally at home in the mouth of a character of the *Dialogus*; since the phrase occurs in Quint. *Inst.* 3.11.27, it is not inconsonant with the genre. I do not suggest that Tacitus first learned the phrase at the age of forty, but since it is a habit of human beings to repeat themselves (and that Tacitus does repeat himself is a matter of simple observation), I suggest that the use in *Agr.* 10 triggered the subsequent uses in the *Agricola* and *Germania*. It did not trigger any such thing for the *Dialogus*, as it might have if the *Dialogus* was being written at the same time. What suggests priority of *Agricola* to *Germania* is not the use of *in universum* (which might reflect normal vocabulary), but the collocations *in universum tamen* and *in universum aestimanti* of the *Germania* after *in universum tamen aestimanti* of *Agricola* 11, if this has indeed been triggered by *Agr.* 10. Now since I cannot prove that *in universum* entered Tacitus' literary vocabulary with *Agr.* 10, I would not convince the skeptical by this phrase that the *Agricola* must antedate the *Germania*. But my point is a negative one. I cannot find evidence

even on this order to suggest that the *Agricola* is anterior to the *Dialogus*.

Other phrases used in *Agr.* 10–12 recur later in the *Agricola* and in the *Germania*, some of them indebted to *Jug.* 17: e.g., *Germ.* 5.1

*terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda . . . satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum [in]patiens, pecorum fecunda, sed <ea> plerumque inprocera.*⁴⁹

Note that *Agr.* 12.5 owes to Sallust, in describing the qualities of the land, the triplet trees (*oleam vitemque*), crops, and cattle, the diction *patiens* (< *Jug.* 17.6), *frugum*, and *fecundum* (versus *infecundum*), and the alliterative chiasmus (*frugum fertilis bonus pecori* > *patiens frugum pecudumque fecundum*). *Germ.* 5.1 owes to the *Agricola* the non-Sallustian *in universum tamen*, the use of *patiens* with the inanimate earth, the pairing of *fecunda* with cattle, but has probably gone back to the original Sallust to imitate the tricolon crescendo rather than the chiasmus, and the placement of the negative element last (though these are also Tacitean); it has changed the *frugum* of *Jug.* and *Agr.* to *satis*. There is no problem with a partial return to the original source. If Tacitus in the *Dialogus* can imitate both Quintilian and his Ciceronian source, he can in the *Germania* imitate both the *Agricola* and its source. He certainly knew the source.

Again the *parum compertum* of *Agr.* 11.1 is echoed by *Agr.* 43.2 *nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim*, which in turn is echoed by *Germ.* 46.4 *quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam*. No such phrase is found in the *Dialogus*.

It is not my task to argue the temporal priority of the *Agricola* to the *Germania*: most scholars do not realize that it needs to be argued. I believe that the concentration and sequential order of the parallels between *Jug.* 17 and *Agr.* 10–12, the greater number of close parallels, the usually greater closeness of the parallels, the fact that Sallust is the constant model for the *Agricola* combine to indicate that *Agricola* 10–12 is the primary imitation of *Jug.* 17, and that the parallels in the *Germania* are secondary and mostly through the *Agricola*, from which the *Germania* garnered also the juxtaposed non-Sallustian elements. But whatever one thinks of the line of argument, my point is that we seem to lack any such evidence of priority of the *Agricola*/*Germania* to the *Dialogus*.

It is particularly noteworthy that, though the *Germania* is an ethnographic work, in an ethnographic section of the *Agricola* it is the *Agricola* which seems to have influenced the *Germania*, and not vice versa. Other

⁴⁹ For the text, see Murgia 165 f.

than the *Agricola*, the most important extant ethnographic influence on the *Germania* seems to be Herodotus, particularly his description of the Scythians in Book 4.⁵⁰ It is never of importance for our method whether an influence operates directly or through an intermediate source: any intermediary must have had all the elements common to the ultimate source and Tacitus. So Her. 4.108 Βουδῖνοι δὲ, ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ πολλόν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστί καὶ πυρρόν has influenced *Germ.* 4.1 *habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae. habitus . . . numero* has in turn influenced *Hist.* 1.8 *et hic quidem Romae, tamquam in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit*, which illustrates the freedom with which the diction can pass outside of the ethnographic context. The lack of apparent movement from *Agricola* or *Germania* to *Dialogus* does not result from a barrier of genre.

Nor is it from lack of opportunity. A phrase like (*Dial.* 7.3) *adulescentes, quibus modo recta indoles [est] et bona spes sui* would have rolled well off the lips of Sallust but never did (its main influence may be Cic. *Fin.* 2.117). Something like *Jug.* 10.2 *quod difficillimum inter mortales est* > *Agr.* 4.3 *quod est difficillimum* could be at home anywhere but did not find its way from *Agricola* to *Dialogus*. It may have influenced *Germ.* 46.3 or *Hist.* 2.80, but we cannot tell, since the expression is common, and it carried with it none of its neighbors. In *Agr.* 43.1 *vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus*, every phrase is paralleled in the *Dialogus*. No judgment can be based on *Dial.* 32.1 *aliud agentes*,⁵¹ but the combination *vulgus quoque et hic populus* found in *Dial.* 7.4 *quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus* makes too many words together for coincidence. One of these passages has influenced the other, and the determination of which one is prior is a matter of determining which, if any, is indebted to a third work. Although the frequency of equivalence of *vulgus* and *populus* in the *Brutus* (e.g. *Brut.* 191) and the resemblance of *Dial.* 7.4 *tunicatus populus* to Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.65 *tunicato popello* are inconclusive, there is no evidence even of this order to indicate that the *Agricola* was prior.

The proof then that we are not wrong in perceiving a movement of diction from *Dialogus* to *Agricola* to *Germania* to *Histories* lies in the

⁵⁰ See Norden 48, Anderson xxx f.

⁵¹ The idiom is found in comedy, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, but in no historian or biographer before Tacitus (or after, so far as listed in *TLL* 1.1381.8-22). But the mere use of an idiom (without conjunction with some other feature of diction or thought) does not prove borrowing, and the last chapters of the *Agricola* are as indebted to Cicero as is the *Dialogus*.

lack of evidence of movement in the reverse direction. True coincidence cares nothing for consistency.

Many studies have been made of the development of 'Tacitus' style, but it has not been adequately realized, I believe, that one of the most important influences on Tacitus was Tacitus himself. Scholars of the early part of this century who argued on stylistic grounds for an early date for the *Dialogus* failed to take proper account of the difference in genre and the difference in 'Tacitus' models. They failed particularly in supposing that it would take a long period of time to pass from the style of the *Dialogus* to the styles of *Agricola* and *Germania*. In opposing them, nevertheless, other scholars have overreacted. The differences in style of the *Dialogus* from the other works of Tacitus do indeed reflect a difference in genre and models, but among the influences missing for the *Dialogus* were the *Agricola* and *Germania*, themselves influenced by Sallust and other historians. This lack is no less important a factor in setting the style of the *Dialogus* apart, while it is yet linked to the other minor works by its great influence on them. The Ciceronianism of the *Dialogus* could influence the *Agricola*, but the *Dialogus* could not be affected by the *Agricola's* Sallustianism.

The evidence of diction then points to a distinct order of composition of *Dialogus* to *Agricola* to *Germania* to *Histories*, and not even to contemporaneity. I am not hostile to some degree of contemporaneity in planning of the works, though the evidence of diction does not seem to support contemporaneity in actual writing. Syme (121) has suggested that Tacitus' decision to celebrate the life of Agricola was motivated by his task of eulogizing Verginius Rufus in 97. If so, Tacitus could easily have embarked on the task while still engaged in composing the *Dialogus*. There are two elements of correspondence among the works that could be construed as anticipation by the *Dialogus* of the *Agricola* and *Germania*. In *Dial.* 28.6, Tacitus follows the reference to Cornelia, Aurelia, and Atia with the following statement: *quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artis honestas et, sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret*. This statement expands the thought from a specific exposition of the desirable training of an orator to a pronouncement on education in general. In particular, it makes the description of the training of the potential orator comparable to the training of Agricola, who turned from excessive devotion to philosophy (*Agr.* 4.3) to complete pursuit of his military career (*Agr.* 5). In *Dial.* 34, the youth who attached himself *ad eum oratorem qui*

principem in civitate locum obtinebat (34.2) did so in order to learn to fight metaphorically in battle: *ut . . . pugnare in proelio disceret*. The military metaphor can be justified within the models of the *Dialogus*: cf., e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 10.5.17, 5.12.22. But it does serve to make the training of the orator more readily comparable with that of Agricola and of the young German warrior, who by similar attachment to a *princeps* literally learned to fight in battle. It may be then that Tacitus is here setting up the reader for the allusions from *Agricola* and *Germania*. I do not believe that we have the controls to tell with certainty.

Scholars have perceived the *Dialogus* as Tacitus' renunciation of oratory in favor of the composition of history.⁵² Those who have placed it late have made it prefatory to the *Histories*. In the *Dialogus*, Maternus, who has just given offense with a reading of his *Cato* (which he intends to publish), justifies his abandonment of oratory for poetic composition. With a date of 97 for composition of the *Dialogus*, it becomes likely that Maternus' *Cato* corresponds to Tacitus' *Agricola*. If the *Dialogus* is a defense of Tacitus' turn from oratory, with the *Agricola* (3.3) making it clear that the turn is toward history, it is reasonable to expect that Tacitus was already planning the *Agricola* and other historical endeavors at the time that he composed the *Dialogus*, but that he intended the *Dialogus* to be published first.

A date of 97 relieves us of serious problems of interpretation. It is difficult to find a post-Domitianic date more inappropriate for the *Dialogus* than the commonly believed date of circa 102. A publication as late as 101 or 102 would require the *Dialogus* to betray either irrelevancies or contradictory ironies. The beginning of the *Dialogus* finds Tacitus and Fabius Justus in agreement that oratory has declined (*Dial.* 1.1). Tacitus proposes to explain the reasons for the decline by recounting a discussion that he pretends to have heard in his youth (1.2), in which the participants put forth different but probable reasons (1.3 *diversas quidem*⁵³ *sed probabiles causas*). The implication is that the reasons set forth at the dramatic date (75) are still relevant at the time of writing and publication. But in fact there were substantial differences in the circumstances of 102 and even more radical differences in the propaganda of the times.

The most important change is Trajan's success in suppressing *delatores*.⁵⁴ Once previously an attempt was made to eliminate *delatores*.

⁵² So, e.g., Barwick 30 f, Syme 111.

⁵³ For *quidem* (found in codex V), see Murgia 172.

⁵⁴ See Pliny, *Panegyricus* 34-35, *Ep.* 6.2.4; Williams 36. Under Domitian, *delatores* had been a plague. The death of Domitian brought trials of many

That was in 'Titus' reign,⁵⁵ but Trajan's attempt was lasting. For someone writing in 100 or so, when one might not yet be sure of the permanence of the suppression, the only parallel period in which to set the dialogue would be the reign of Titus (79–81). Yet Tacitus has chosen not only to set the *Dialogus* at a period in which the *delatores* are about to become even more of a plague, but he has represented the *delatores* as exemplifying the supreme practitioners of oratory.⁵⁶ The difficulty has been recognized, and Williams' solution⁵⁷ is to claim that Aper's speeches and Maternus' first speech address the state of oratory as it existed in 75, while Maternus' final speech addresses the status in 102. This does not work, not only because Maternus' final speech is not strictly relevant to 102, but because Tacitus was under no compulsion to set the dialogue in a period irrelevant to the time of composition, or to consume the largest part of the work discussing irrelevancies. None of the explanations offered in the dialogue are regarded by the characters or Tacitus as wrong or irrelevant — only as, by themselves, inadequate.

If meaning is to be read into a supposed contradiction between the status of *delatores* in 75 and the status at the time of composition, the meaning would have to be an even more despairing view of the prospects of oratory: the *delatores* are the supreme orators of 75, and now even this distinction, however inferior to the distinction of the Ciceronian age, has been eliminated by Trajan. Although Pliny could allow himself a moment of nostalgia for the oratorical skill of the *delatores*,⁵⁸ it would be out of character for Tacitus. The pessimistic view, although consistent with the overall theme of the *Dialogus* as enunciated in its first chapter, is in opposition to the implications of the next contradiction which we will explore. And Tacitus, though pessimistic about the state of oratory in the imperial age, is most properly pessimistic about the political factors that prevent himself and his friends from rivaling Cicero: it is surely not his complaint, even by implication, that, thanks to Trajan, he and Justus can no longer aspire to be *delatores*. The simple act of representing the *delatores* as the supreme orators suffices to exclude oratory as the proper path of fame for a *vir bonus*.

(Dio *Ep.* 68.1.2), and a threat to Regulus in early 97 (Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.1) to match the one of 70 (Tac. *Hist.* 4.42), but Nerva eventually put a stop to the prosecutions (Dio *Ep.* 68.1.3). Under Trajan, the *delatores* were gone from the judicial scene.

⁵⁵ See Suet. *Titus* 8.5.

⁵⁶ See *Dial.* 5.7; 8.

⁵⁷ Pp. 36–45.

⁵⁸ *Ep.* 6.2.

Only an optimistic implication could be attached to the next conflict between the claims of the characters and the events of 100–102.

Dial. 19.2 facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat si quis dicendo⁵⁹ diem eximeret.

20.1 quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? quis quinque in Verrem libros expectabit? quis <de> exceptione et formula perpetietur illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur.

38.1 transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum: quae etsi nunc aptior est [ita erit],⁶⁰ eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogeatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit inposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur.

41.1 sic quoque quod superest [antiquis oratoribus]⁶¹ forum non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliata vexatamque? quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus.

41.4 quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis cum optimi cito consentiant? quid multis apud populum contionibus cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent sed sapientissimus et unus?

Aper (19.2, 20.1) claims that no one today would listen to a long speech, including the *Verrines*, and Maternus attributes the elimination of long speeches to political factors (38, 41.4) and finds the elimination hostile to eloquence (38.1). But in 100, Tacitus and Pliny prosecuted

⁵⁹ For the order *quis dicendo* (where the manuscripts have *dicendo quis*), see my review of the OCT in CP 72 (1977) 342.

⁶⁰ For the deletion of *ita erit* by codex E and Dronke, see Murgia 175. The other reasonable possibility is Agricola's *veritati*.

⁶¹ For the deletion of *antiquis oratoribus*, see Murgia 176 f.

Marius Priscus in a celebrated case, reminiscent of Cicero's *Verrines*. Trajan himself, as consul, presided (Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.10), and Pliny spoke for almost five hours (Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.14), apparently for two hours longer than specified in the law.⁶² After three days of trial and much wavering by the senators, Marius was fined and banished. The pillaged province of Africa however recovered nothing: so Juvenal, *Sat.* 1.49-50: *exsul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis / iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras*. In 100 also, Pliny delivered his *Panegyricus*. Not a short speech originally, it was perhaps tripled in length by the revisions which Pliny made. Pliny boasted (*Ep.* 3.18.4) that he held an audience for three days with its recitation.⁶³ Within the speech (76.1), he remarks on the tolerance with which Trajan as consul presided over the senate:

iam quam antiquum, quam consulare quod triduum totum senatus sub exemplo patientiae tuae sedit, cum interea nihil praeter consulem ageres! interroga<tus cens>uit quisque quod placuit, <licuit> dissentire, discedere et copiam iudicii sui rei publicae facere; consulti omnes atque etiam dinumerati sumus, vicitque sententia non prima sed melior.

This should be contrasted with *Dial.* 41.4, *quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis cum optimi cito consentiunt?* The *optimi* quickly agree under Vespasian, because they follow what they know to be Vespasian's opinion. Perhaps even more, Tacitus thinks of the status under Domitian. Under Trajan that has changed, both in reality and in imperial propaganda.

Those are not correct therefore who take Maternus' apparent praise

⁶² Maternus (38.2) claims that Pompey was the first to apply the bit to eloquence. He refers to the Lex Pompeia of 52 B.C., limiting the speech for the prosecution to two hours, and that of the defense to three (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 324). But even before this there were legal limits, although often disregarded. In the *Pro Flacco* (an *actio repetundarum* of 59) Cicero states that the law allowed the prosecutors six hours (82 *sex horas lex omnino dedit*). We find the same allowance for the prosecutors in an *actio repetundarum* against Julius Bassus (102/3): Plin. *Ep.* 4.9.9 *nam cum e lege accusator sex horas, novem reus acceperisset, ita diviserat tempora reus inter me et eum qui dicturus post erat, ut ego quinque horis, ille reliquis uteretur*. In the trial of Marius Priscus, apparently the six hours were split equally between Pliny and Tacitus, but Pliny was allocated four extra *clepsydrae*, and larger or slower ones than normal, bringing his total time to nearly five hours: see Sherwin-White on *Ep.* 2.11.14.

⁶³ The holding of an audience for three days of recitation is not directly comparable with the ancient orator's holding of an audience for a whole day, since the recitations need not have consumed more than an hour or two each day. Nevertheless, there is no denying the length of the *Panegyricus*, and that its very length was a source of pride to Pliny.

of the imperial system at face value, and justify its divergence from the anti-imperial Maternus of the earlier dialogue by claiming that Tacitus here means really the imperial system of Trajan. Maternus describes the system as practiced under Vespasian, not Trajan.

Under Vespasian, the most notable trials involved *delatores*, either prosecutions of *delatores*, as that of Eprius Marcellus by Helvidius Priscus (*Dial.* 5.7), or the prosecutions by the *delatores* themselves. After 100 the *delatores* were gone from the scene, but there was a flowering of prosecutions for extortion. After Marius Priscus, there was Caecilius Classicus (100 or 101), prosecuted by Pliny and Luceius Albinus on behalf of the province Baetica (*Plin. Ep.* 3.9), then Julius Bassus, quaestor of Bithynia, in 102/3 defended by Pliny and Luceius Albinus (*Plin. Ep.* 4.9), and finally (106 and 107) Varenus Rufus, defended by Pliny against accusations of the Bithynians (*Ep.* 5.20). It is surely not the claim of Tacitus that the state is less well run under Trajan than under Vespasian because of such prosecutions.

Rather, if the *Dialogus* were written in 100-102, the implication would have to be that the greater freedom introduced by Trajan, who has followed Nerva in joining freedom and the principate (cf. *Agr.* 3.5), has allowed the oratory to which a *vir bonus* could aspire to enjoy something of a renaissance.⁶⁴ For a publication in 102, when the political causes for the decline of oratory seem also to have been undercut, this implication must seem optimistic for the current state of oratory. Such a positive view seems inconsistent with the theme of the work as enunciated in its first chapter.

"Coming so soon after the *Panegyricus* and impinging on the recitations of it, a treatise that so authoritatively pronounced the epitaph upon contemporary eloquence cannot have been taken as a compliment to Pliny." So Syme (112), supposing a date of 102. The litotes is quite an understatement. A work that not only "pronounces an epitaph on contemporary eloquence," but asserts that no one today will listen to a long speech, that the opportunities for Verrine orations are gone, and makes these announcements within two years of the prosecution of Marius Priscus and the delivery, revision, and recitation of the *Panegyricus*, must either be delivering a pointed insult to Pliny, or must be allowing its thesis to be undercut. No reason is apparent for Tacitus to insult his friend, and Pliny's boast that his friends held him over for

⁶⁴ The renaissance was short-lived, since Pliny (*Ep.* 6.2.5-6) complains that after the death of Regulus speeches grew shorter (which also implies that before his death they were longer). Strangely enough, Regulus himself was a proponent of brevity (*Ep.* 1.20.14).

three days to recite the *Panegyricus* makes a better answer to Aper than Aper does to Pliny.⁶⁵

Whatever probability is attached singly to any implication that can be extracted from a publication in 102, whether that Trajan, in suppressing the *delatores*, has dealt the final blow to oratory, or that Trajan, by the greater freedom of his regime, has allowed oratory to regain its Republican grandeur, whether that Tacitus is criticizing a regime under which *provinciae* have been *spoliatae vexataeque* (*Dial.* 41.2), insulting Pliny, or praising him as the last of the ancient orators, what is amply clear is that these implications cannot all be true simultaneously. A date of 102 must be rejected because the natural implications are inconsistent and self-contradictory.

These contradictions must be distinguished from apparent contradictions⁶⁶ that are basic to the structure of the *Dialogus* and further its overall intent. For instance, Tacitus is represented (*Dial.* 2.1) as attending in his youth both the court cases and the domestic conversations of Aper and Secundus in the fashion that Messala (34.2) attributes to the past age. The presence of a notable exception to the general pattern of education does not refute Messala's description as a rule, any more than the role of Agricola's mother in his education means that Roman children were not usually handed over to servants in Messala's day. But Tacitus by his very presence serves to undercut Messala's explanation as a fully adequate reason for the decline of oratory. If Messala's explanation were adequate, someone educated like Tacitus could still attain the stature of Cicero as an orator. He cannot, and it is eventually made clear that the reason is because the times are not right.

Again Maternus claims (11.4): *nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia; nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint*. I have little doubt that those scholars⁶⁷ are correct who suspect that Maternus was eliminated shortly after the dramatic date of the *Dialogus*, and that Maternus' protestations of security are to be understood as Tacitean irony. But it is an irony which is detectable from the very structure of

⁶⁵ Similarly, now that Bruère has documented the *Panegyricus*' imitation of the *Dialogus*, it is not too much to see the *Panegyricus* as also in part Pliny's answer to the *Dialogus*. The *Panegyricus* undercuts the *Dialogus* because Pliny so constructed the speech, not because Tacitus composed a work already so undercut.

⁶⁶ Williams (32-35) lists a series of "contradictions or contrasts," both real and illusory.

⁶⁷ See above, n.16.

the work, and the tone of the language, and which supports the overall point of view of the work.

Maternus' final speech has troubled many readers. Maternus appears to speak in terms highly laudatory of the imperial system, an attitude at apparent variance with his depiction at the beginning of the work (*Dial.* 2.1-3.3). As I have stated above, Maternus' words in 41 are not to be referred to Tacitus' judgment of the regime of Trajan, rather than to Maternus' description of Vespasian. Nor is it to be thought that either

the *persona* Maternus or Tacitus himself meant (41.4) *sapientissimus* to be an accurate description of Vespasian. Nor does the term "irony,"⁶⁸ as it is normally understood today, adequately describe most of Maternus' straightfaced statements. Rather Maternus gives an example of the kind of double-talk that was essential under the empire for personal safety, and which normally communicated one thing to supporters of the emperor, another to his opponents. The double-talk is most candidly described by Pliny:

Panegyricus 3.4 haec me cura, haec difficultas sola circumstat; nam merenti gratias agere facile est, patres conscripti. non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat, cum de frugalitate, luxuriam, cum de clementia, crudelitatem, cum de liberalitate, avaritiam, cum de benignitate, livorem, cum de continentia, libidinem, cum de labore, inertiam, cum de fortitudine, timorem.

4.1 sed parendum est senatus consulto, quo ex utilitate publica placuit ut consulis voce sub titulo gratiarum agendarum boni principes quae facerent recognoscerent, mali quae facere deberent.

The implication is clear in Pliny's words that bad emperors were praised as having virtues which they lacked, and for doing what they did not do but should have done; the implication is also there that the audience knew how to understand this praise. The closest modern parallels to the words of Maternus may be found in the works of some modern Soviet novelists like Pasternak, who praise the Soviet system in their explicit language while their plots serve to undercut or criticize it. If,

⁶⁸ Irony is the interpretation of A. Köhnken, "Das Problem der Ironie bei Tacitus," *MH* 30 (1973) 32-50. There are statements of Maternus which it would be difficult not to interpret ironically, as (41.4) *quid (opus est scil.) voluntariis accusationibus cum tam rare et tam parce peccetur?* But most of Maternus' speech consists in simply adopting the language and point of view of a supporter of the imperial system, while demonstrating what effects the system should have on eloquence.

as is suspected, Maternus himself shortly fell victim to the imperial judicial system, that very fact would adequately undercut Maternus' praise. It is also noteworthy that all of Maternus' "pro imperial" statements follow the arrival on the scene of Messala, the brother of the *delator* Regulus. Maternus has answered Messala with arguments which Messala should find irrefutable, since he would accept their basic premises.⁶⁹ Maternus has said nothing to incriminate himself, but Maternus' close friends and Tacitus' readers knew that Vespasian was not the wisest and best of men, that he was so far from being the wisest and best of men that he had to be called the wisest and best, and they made the proper adjustments in understanding Maternus' words, as we do today.

It is not justifiable then to read the *Dialogus* as simply a mass of contradictions. The difficulties of a date after 100 are difficulties that affect the basic thesis of the *Dialogus*, that oratory has declined and that political factors are the decisive reason. Rather the *Dialogus* was published shortly after the death of Domitian, when it was safe to do so, and before a new direction of the empire was securely established.⁷⁰ The status of oratory in 75 is represented as relevant to the status at the time of publication because it was relevant.

APPENDIX — THE CONVENTIONALITY OF THE PROEM

The proem of the *Dialogus* follows a convention in which the author pretends to respond to the frequent requests of the dedicatee. So its opening words (*saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur . . .*) have their closest Latin antecedents in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.1.1 . . . *tua nos, Gai Herenni, voluntas commovit, ut . . .* (cf. also Cicero, *Topica* 1.1 *C. Trebati . . . voluntas tua*); Cicero, *de Or.* 1.4 *tibi vero, frater, neque hortanti deero neque roganti* (cf. also *Tusc. Disp.* 1.1 *Brute, te hortante*); *Lael.* 1.3 *cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut . . .*; *Orator* 1.1.1 *utrum difficilium aut maius esset negare tibi saepius idem roganti an efficere id quod rogares diu multumque, Brute, dubitavi*; Seneca, *Contr.* 1.1 *Seneca Novato,*

⁶⁹ Messala is a figure whom Tacitus treats with praise (*Hist.* 3.9) even when he defended Regulus (*Hist.* 4.42). But there is no doubt that he was a supporter of Vespasian, for whom he fought against Vitellius (*Hist.* 3.9). I am not implying that Messala was himself a spy or *delator*, but a circumspect man would observe caution in the presence of a brother (even, as in our diction, a half-brother) of Regulus.

⁷⁰ A date of 97 was advocated by Bardon (1941) 114, but in the belief that this was "au début de règne de Trajan": see also Bardon (1940) 379. The *Dialogus* was written under Nerva.

Senecae, Melae filiis salutem. exigitis rem magis iucundam mihi quam facilem; and Quintilian, *Inst. Or. Ep. ad Tryph.* 1 *M. Fabius Quintilianus Tryphoni suo salutem. efflagitasti cotidiano convicio ut libros quos ad Marcellum meum . . .*, followed by 1. *pr.* 6 *quod opus, Marcelle Vitori, tibi dicamus . . .* and by 6. *pr.* 1-16. The beginnings of the *Dialogus* and the *Institutio* are closely followed by Pliny, *Ep.* 1.1.1 (*C. Plinius Septicio suo s. frequenter hortatus es, ut epistulas . . .*), to say nothing of Mao Tse-Tung (W. Barnstone tr., *The Poems of Mao Tse-Tung* [New York 1972] 18). The Romans have no monopoly on the convention, but, with a few exceptions (such as Plutarch), only the Latin examples permit us to investigate whether the dedicatee was consul. We know little about Herennius, but Cicero's *De Oratore* was addressed to his brother Quintus, the *Laelius* (as the *Cato Major*) to his publisher Atticus; his *Orator* and *Brutus* were both dedicated to Brutus in 46, when Brutus was governor of Cisalpine Gaul. Seneca the Elder dedicated his works to his sons. Quintilian combines several conventions: his work was originally to be for the education of his own son (6 *pr.* 1-16), but after the son's death it was dedicated to Vitorius Marcellus, allegedly because of his close friendship and love of literature, and to educate Marcellus' son Geta (1 *pr.* 6); the whole is prefixed with a letter to Trypho, his publisher.

These prefaces therefore reveal three types of dedicatee: a publisher; a son, younger brother, or equivalent subject of education; a distinguished friend with an interest in the subject. Fabius Justus falls within the last category. Since he was younger than Tacitus (who was consul suffectus five years earlier) he may also partake of the second category, as a suitable subject of instruction.

Dedication to a new consul was not an option reasonably open to Tacitus in 97: it could not have been done without awkwardness in a year in which he was himself a consul suffectus. I wonder even at the propriety of such dedication coming from a former consul: to be truly honorific, it would require a delicacy not apparent in the *Dialogus'* poem.

POETAE NOVELLI

ALAN CAMERON

THE *poetae novelli* of the second century A.D. are familiar to every reader of modern literary histories of Rome. There may be some uncertainty about who they were or, more disturbingly, whether they wrote under Hadrian or the Antonines, but the existence of the school itself has been taken for granted. Its leading lights are supposed to be Septimius Serenus and Annianus "Faliscus." Other names mentioned are Alfius Avitus, Marianus, Julius Paulus, and even the grammarian Terentianus Maurus.

The most elaborate account of the school is contained in a book by E. Castorina called *Questioni Neoteriche* (1968),¹ in which the *poetae novelli* are seen as heirs of a continuing tradition of "neotericism" which runs from the original "neoteric school" of Catullus and Calvus and their friends down to Boethius and beyond. With Castorina's definition of this tradition of "neotericism" and his characterization of "la poesia novella" as "rural-realistic-popular poetry" we are not for the moment concerned.² But it may be helpful to begin by comparing the evidence for these two supposed schools.

For the late republican "school" we have, in addition to many interesting allusions in Catullus, Cicero's three famous references to νεώτεροι, *novi poetae*, and *Cantores Euphorionis*. Whether these phrases had a precise reference, whether it was the same reference, and whether or not Cicero had Catullus in mind, these are questions that need not detain us here.³ Although, as we shall see, it is improbable in the extreme

¹ My references throughout are to this book, which incorporates what is virtually a reprint of the author's earlier work *I "poetae novelli"* (1949). I hope that my criticisms will not seem unduly *ad hominem*; many before Castorina have thought much the same, but the detailed justifications he offers for what others have merely asserted renders his exposition more vulnerable than theirs. References to fragments, unless otherwise stated, are to W. Morel, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*² (1927).

² See in general the excellent review by E. J. Kenney, *CR* (1970) 51-52, to whose common sense I am much indebted.

³ Most scholars would now answer at least the two latter questions in the negative: see N. B. Crowther, *CQ* (1970) 322-327; T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the*

that they called *themselves* the "new" or "neoteric" poets, and while there is certainly no justification for the free and fashionable use of the term "neotericism," there is nonetheless solid, first hand evidence for the existence of a group of contemporary poets, some of whom knew each other and shared certain ideals and themes and features of style.

For the *poetae novelli* there is no contemporary evidence. It is seldom appreciated that all we have are vague remarks of two later grammarians. Consider, for example, the apparently cautious and reasonable statement of A. Rostagni:⁴ . . . "L'appellativo *novelli*, per indicare siffatti poeti, è adoperato da Terenziano Mauro, passim; ma non può considerarsi assoluto ed esclusivo a confronto dell'appellativo *neoterici*⁵ o *neoteri*, che s'incontrano in altri testi per es., in Diomede."

The truth is that 'passim' in Terentianus Maurus reduces to just one passage of quite uncertain reference where *novellus* is applied to *poeta* in the singular. As for the "other texts, for example Diomedes," they reduce to just Diomedes, who uses *neotericus* three times, again with quite uncertain reference. There is no good reason to suppose that Terentianus' one *novellus poeta* has anything to do with Diomedes' *neoterici*, or that either term refers to Serenus or Annianus. The other main objection to the notion of a regular school of second-century poets is that no two of them can be shown to have been even contemporaries, much less friends. Before turning to the question of the date and inter-relationship of the individual poets, let us deal with the evidence of Terentianus and Diomedes.

THE EVIDENCE OF TERENTIANUS

Some half-dozen passages have been adduced.⁶ We may begin with *De metris* 1969 f. In the course of his section on the hexameter Terentianus discusses the use of the hephthemimeres as an independent metrical unit (1957 f.). Having quoted an example from a tragic chorus

Poet (1974) 44 f; and J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (1974) 180 f. Most recently C. Tuplin, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* (1976) 1-24; R. O. A. M. Lyne, *CQ* 28 (1978) 167-187; Crowther, *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 4 (1979) 123-125; more generally, W. Clausen, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 181 f and E. J. Kenney, *Mnemosyne* (1970) 366 f.

⁴ *Storia della Letteratura Latina* iii³ (1964), rev. I. Lana, 296.

⁵ Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* iii³ (1922) 21 f (and many others) prefer the term *poetae neoterici*.

⁶ See G. Schultz, *Hermes* (1887) 274 f, Castorina, 158 f.

of Pomponius he feels obliged to apologize for his inability to quote Greek examples:

non equidem possum tot priscos nosse poetas,
 ut veterum exemplis valeam quae tracto probare: 1970
 Maurus item quantos potui cognoscere Graios,
 quorum praecipue studiis ars musica constat?
 nemo tamen culpet, si sumo *exempla novella*:
 nam et melius nostri servarunt metra minores.
 Septimius, docuit quo ruris opuscula libro, 1975
 hoc genere adsidue cecinit;
 ponere pauca mihi sat erit,
 "inquit amicus ager domino . . ."

(fr. 10).

Now it is true enough that the use of short and sometimes original metrical units *κατὰ στίχον* is particularly characteristic of Septimius Serenus, but that is not why Terentianus cites him here. He does so, not because the *exempla* are *novella*, but because, as he says, "our recent poets have *preserved* the metres better," that is to say they reproduce the original Greek metres more faithfully than some of the older Latin poets. In the context, then, there seems no reason to read anything more into *exempla novella* than "recent examples."

From 2181-2538 Terentianus assembles the meters that derive, as he sees them, from the iambic trimeter. When discussing acephalous and catalectic iambic dimeters (2458 f) he digresses into an analysis of the Saturnian, the first half of which (he takes the familiar and convenient example *dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae*) is, he claims, simply an iambic dimeter catalectic:

"dabunt malum Metelli" clauda pars dimetri:
 "dabunt malum Metelli,"
 "adest celer phaselus," (his own example)
 "Memphitides puellae," } Petronius, cf. 2489 f
 "tinctus colore noctis." }

He then passes to what we call the "Aristophaneus," choriamb + bacchius in Terentianus' terminology⁷ (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ — x), which he links with the iambic dimeter catalectic:

et choriambus unus 2525
 praeditus antibaccho
 claudicat, ut priores.
 videro, si *novelli*
 versus erit *poetae*;

⁷ Not inappropriately, cf. D. Raven, *Greek Metre*², 50c.

lex tamen una metri est: 2530
 "tinctus colore noctis,"
 "dabunt malum Metelli";
 "Inachiae puellae
 seu bovis ille custos."
 colon et hoc in usu 2535
 carminis est Horati.
 tu genus hoc memento
 reddere, cum reposeam.

The Horace reference is to *Odes* i.8.1 (*Lydia, dic per omnes*), regularly so analyzed by the metricians (cf. Caesius Bassus, *GLK* vi.270.13 f, Terentianus' source). The Petronius quotation 2531 is repeated merely for metrical comparison. There is no basis whatever for Castorina's claim that Petronius is here designated *novellus*.⁸ (One might as well make the same claim for Naevius on the strength of 2532!)

It can only be 2533-4 that are the work of the *novellus poeta*. That he is Serenus is certainly a possibility — though hardly more. The learned "Alexandrian" periphrasis for Argus and Ino is not in the style of Serenus, nor is there any other evidence that he used this meter. The obvious guess is surely Caesius Bassus (cf. 1915, where the anonymous *exemplum* is Bassus fr. 3). Here again it is both unnecessary and implausible to see *novellus* as a technical term of any precise polemical or chronological reference;⁹ it just means "recent," recent, that is, compared with Horace. Once more, Terentianus is not emphasizing the newness or originality of these *exempla novella*. On the contrary, he is again stressing the fact that the metrical practice of these recent poets is the *same* as that of the *veteres*. Just as at 1973-75 Serenus is quoted because *melius nostri servarunt metra minores*," so too here *lex tamen una metri est*.

⁸ See his remarkably perverse section "'L'antiquus' Seneca e il 'novellus' Petronio," 171-175. Not only does Terentianus not call Petronius *novellus*; he does not call Seneca *antiquus* either — an error Kenney charitably imputes to "nothing worse than carelessness" (*CR* [1970] 52). In fact it is an error which Castorina copied out of the preface to Lachmann's edition (p. xi, quoted by Schanz-Hosius, iii³, 27) without reference to the text at all, an error already stigmatized as such in G. Schultz's article in *Hermes* 1887 to which Castorina himself refers on several occasions ("Lachmann sagt . . . Terentianus nenne Seneca v. 2137 *antiquum poetam*. Die Entstehung des Irrthums ist mir unerklärlich," 280, n.2). For a more sober discussion of the evidence for "modernism" under Nero (which of course has nothing to do with any other "new" movements at any other times) see J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (1974) 180 f.

⁹ Contrast Castorina, who claims that Terentianus is making here "netta e ufficiale distinzione fra *poetae veteres* e *novelli*" (p. 159).

The only other passage where Terentianus uses the word *novellus* is interesting precisely because (though nonetheless quoted by Castorina and his allies) it so obviously has nothing to do with second-century poets. Having at 2232–39 made the point that the Roman comedians often put spondees in the second and fourth feet of their iambic *senarii*, he adds that their Greek predecessors were much stricter:

magis ista nostri: nam fere Graecis tenax
cura est iambi vel *novellis* comicis
vel qui in vetusta praecluent comoedia.
Aristophanis . . .

Manifestly these *novelli* are the poets of the New Comedy, “New” by comparison with Aristophanes. For Terentianus, unsurprisingly enough, as for most writers of most periods, “new” is a *relative* term, taking its precision and color from the context.

We can compare 1992–94 where, before quoting some lines of Serenus in a meter he is said to have invented, Terentianus remarks (in the appropriate meter, of course):

nam lyrici quotiens sua volunt
carmina per varios dare sonos,
pluribus illa modis ita *novant*.

According to Castorina (p. 160), even *novant* has a technical sense: “Il diretto riferimento a Sereno prova che *novare* è qui sinonimo di *novellus*.” One might as well call Hipponax *novellus* because he substituted a spondee for the final foot of the iambic trimeter to create the scazon,

novitate ductus, non ut inscius legis. 2403

Terentianus uses *novant* at 1994, not because of some startling “new” quality in Serenus’ poetry but simply because this particular meter happened to be his invention.

So much for Castorina’s claim that *novellus* in Terentianus represented the “denominazione speciale di un certo tipo di poesia, di un certo gruppo di poeti, che egli, con tale termine, contrappone ai *veteres*” (p. 160). Terentianus uses the word three times: once referring to Serenus, once with uncertain reference (perhaps Caesius Bassus), and once of New Comedy. He used *novellus* rather than *novus*, not because *novellus* reflected the fondness of second-century poets for diminutives (Castorina, p. 160), but doubtless quite simply because it happened to suit his metre best.

Castorina has further claimed that Terentianus had a special predi-

lection for these supposed *novelli poetae*; that he had perhaps been one himself as a young man and had written his *De metris* as a sort of manifesto on their behalf in his old age (pp. 245–247). As Kenney has remarked, this “is an idea that should not survive the most cursory reading of the *De metris*, in which examples from Virgil and Horace overwhelmingly preponderate. It was not for polemical purposes that Septimius Serenus & co. were quoted, but to exemplify metres not used by earlier poets.”¹⁰ It might be added that Terentianus does not in fact quote Serenus nearly as often as he might have, given the number of unusual and original meters Serenus used (contrast the more frequent quotations in Diomedes — see the following section). Nor is he much concerned to stress or praise the originality of either Serenus or the unnamed *novellus poeta* of 2528–29; at 1974 and 2530 he underlines their dependence on the *veteres* (and 1973, *nemo tamen culpet, si sumo exempla novella*, is in fact an *apology* for not quoting the Greek originals). “Terenziano chiama più volte i *novelli* con l’attributo *nostri*,” remarks Castorina (p. 245). Monceaux thought this meant that they were all Africans,¹¹ J. K. Wagner that they were all contemporaries.¹² Over and above these possibilities, suggests Castorina, “*Nostri* rivela senza dubbio una sfumatura affettiva che dovette andare al di là d’una semplice amicizia personale . . . ma anche l’amicizia che deriva da una stretta comunanza di ideali artistici.” All three interpretations are equally false. There are only two passages, and anyone who looks at them in context will see at a glance that in both *nostri* unquestionably means “we who write in Latin,” contrasted with Greek models. At 2240 (*magis ista nostri*) the reference is to the writers of Republican comedy; *nostri . . . minores* at 1974 does include Serenus, though it will be admitted that *minores*, even when used in a chronological rather than evaluative sense, is nonetheless not a particularly happy epithet for their supposed admirer to apply to modern poets.

Terentianus may indeed have liked Serenus (cf. 1891 *dulcia Septimius . . .*), but he nowhere calls him *novellus poeta*, nor does he draw attention to any new feature about him except in the matter of meter. He certainly never uses the plural term *novelli poetae*, and though he does happen to refer to Annianus and Alfius Avitus as well as Serenus, he says nothing to link them or to suggest that they shared any common purpose, nor does he differentiate them in any way from the first-century poets such as Seneca and Petronius.

¹⁰ CR (1970) 52.

¹¹ *Les Africains* (1894) 393, n.1.

¹² *Quaestiones Neotericae* (1907) 9.

THE EVIDENCE OF DIOMEDES

It was G. Schultz who "discovered" the references to the *poetae novelli* in Diomedes.¹³ The facts are as follows. In the chapter "De versuum generibus" that concludes Book iii of his *Ars grammatica* (GLK i.506-18K) Diomedes refers three times to *neoterici* (not *novelli*) in a section where he quotes Serenus a number of times. To Schultz (as to many scholars since) it was obvious that *neoterici* was a technical term and that the *neoterici* were the same as the *novelli*. Neither claim survives a study of the section as a whole.

The section begins and ends with quotations from Serenus. In between these two groups come the references to *neoterici*. There is no suggestion that Serenus and the *neoterici* are connected in any way, much less that Serenus was one.

The quotations from Serenus are introduced just like any other quotations in the chapter. For examples, p. 511.18K: *anapaesticus qui ex pedibus anapaestis constat, talis est in Sereno, "cedo, testula trita . . ."* (fr. 19), which is followed by another illustration from Seneca; p. 513.10: *proceleumaticum metrum est quale fecit Serenus, "animula miserula . . ."* (fr. 16); p. 517.26: *Serenus fecit huius modi versum, "qui navigium . . ."* (fr. 20); p. 517.34: *Sereni aliud tale* and p. 518.5: *Sereni aliud tale*. At p. 514.6 he introduces what he wrongly considers to be an original meter of Serenus (see p. 166) with the words *sed hoc Serenus novum fecit*, but there is not likely to be any special reference in *novum*, since at 518.14 Varro too is credited with a *novum carmen*, and at 518.9 an original meter of Serenus is introduced instead as *mirum comma*. Diomedes is simply and naturally drawing attention to novelties as they occur.

Now for the *neoterici*. At 516.24 f and 517.3 f they are quoted for what the metricians call *versus reciproci*, that is to say verses which scan as one meter when read forwards and another when read backwards, for example, 516.29:

esse bonus si vis, cole divos, optime Pansa,

a hexameter which scans as a sotadean when read backwards:

Pansa optime, divos cole, si vis bonus esse.

This affectation Diomedes attributes to the *neoterici* (*reciprocus versus apud neotericos talis est*, 516.24). Now to be sure the poets of the second century (at any rate Serenus) did like playing around with meter, but

¹³ *Hermes* (1887) 274 f.

this is one game they did *not* invent. It was known already to Quintilian:

memini quendam non ignobilem poetam talem (sc. versum)
exarasse:

astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem.
hic retrorsum fit sotadeus. (ix.4.90)

Leo¹⁴ long ago conjectured that this unnamed poet was Caesius Bassus, on whose metrical treatise Diomedes drew in this very chapter (cf. 513.16). It can hardly be anyone later. In the absence of any evidence that the word *neoterici* (or for that matter *novelli*) is ever applied to the poets of the second century, there seems no possible justification for seeing a reference to them here.

At p. 517.3 f Diomedes quotes another such piece of extravagance, an elegiac couplet that can be read backwards as another elegiac couplet:

Nereides freta sic verrentes caerula tranant,
flamine confidens ut Notus Icarium.
Icarium Notus ut confidens flamine, tranant
caerula verrentes sic freta Nereides.

This he introduces with the words: *reciprocum neoterici, si non fallor, novum protulerunt*. The *novum* perhaps suggests someone later than Bassus, but there is no reason for singling out the supposed *novelli*. However we may judge them, Serenus and the rest were poets with a penchant for odd meters. There is no reason to suppose that, like Bassus before them or the unspeakable Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius after, they were the sort of people who indulged in such metrician's games for their own sake.

It is Porfyrius, in fact, who is the first known perpetrator of *versus reciproci*. A whole series of them is ascribed to him in the Latin Anthology (i.1.81) under the title *versus anacyclici*. One will suffice:

blanditias fera Mors Veneris persensit amando,
permisit solitae nec Styga tristitiae.
tristitiae Styga nec solitae permisit amando
persensit Veneris Mors fera blanditias.

If Porfyrius invented them, which is possible but not certain, then the fact that he wrote under Constantine would perforce exclude Serenus and his friends from consideration.

This is where Castorina parts company with Schultz. For him Diomedes' *neoterici* are *not* the *novelli* but yet another school of "new poets," a *fourth-century* school, with Porfyrius and Ausonius as its

¹⁴ *Hermes* (1889) 294, n.2.

leading lights.¹⁵ This is, if anything, even less plausible a claim than Schultz's.

First, there is little if any sign of original work in even the best of the fourth and fifth-century grammarians. Virtually all their material is taken at second or third hand from a long line of predecessors, the same categories, the same examples. It would be astonishing to discover an allusion to the contemporary Ausonius in Diomedes.¹⁶ Even the Constantinian Porfyrius would surprise. It should be noted that Diomedes' example of the *versus reciprocus* is not among those ascribed (under a different name) to Porfyrius; perhaps he was not the inventor.¹⁷

Second, if Diomedes did have Porfyrius and Ausonius in mind, why quote such minor illustrations of their virtuosity? A hexameter/sotadean plays an inconspicuous minor role as a *versus intextus* in one of Porfyrius' more ambitious creations, while Ausonius wrote neither hexameter/sotadeans nor *reciproci*. Why not rather the extravaganzas for which they are justly renowned, the *technopaegnia* and *carmina figurata*?

Third, the last of Diomedes' references to *neoterici*, in a discussion of the galliambic (514.23 f): *simile est illud neotericum, quod est tale, "rutilos recide crines habitumque cape viri."* There is no evidence that either second- or fourth-century poets wrote galliambics at all, whereas it was (for such a meter) positively fashionable at the turn of the first century B.C.: in addition to Catullus 63 there are fragments by Varro (frr. 131-132, Bücheler), Maecenas (frr. 5-6 Morel), and an unnamed poet quoted by Bassus (*GLK* vi.262.15 = Morel fr. inc. 19). Morel took Diomedes' example to be of the same date (fr. inc. 20), surely correctly.

Castorina sees a simple dilemma here. Either Diomedes has a specific contemporary "school" in mind, or he means all poets of all periods who wrote trick verses. "This second hypothesis," he proceeds without further discussion, "is untenable." It has the emphasis wrong, to be sure, but it is certainly nearer the truth than the first hypothesis. To see why, it is necessary to take a wider look at the way grammarians and commentators, Greek as well as Latin, used the terms *neoteri* and *neoterici*.

They appear constantly in the Homer scholia, in notices deriving from the commentaries of the great Alexandrian critics, notably

¹⁵ Together with the undatable Pentadius: Castorina's views are fully expounded in *Giorn. ital. di filol.* 2 (1949) 117-146, 206-228, epitomized in *Quest. Neot.* 256 f.

¹⁶ Ausonius (died c. 394) may well have outlived Diomedes, whose dates are quite uncertain (Schanz-Hosius, iv. 1, 170).

¹⁷ Cf. Robert Browning, *CR* (1951) 34, n.2.

Aristarchus and his successors. Aristarchus made a close study of Homeric usage, and when discussing textual points would often distinguish between what was Homeric and what not found till later writers, οἱ νεώτεροι. There is frequently a depreciatory flavour to such references: a nice example is the note on *Il.* B.494 (i.288.96 Erbse): νεωτερικὸν καὶ συγγραφικὸν καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἄπο σεμνότητος, "new and prosy and quite out of keeping with the dignity of poetry."¹⁸ We find the same distinction in the Pindar scholia, no doubt likewise deriving from Aristarchus. For example, we are told in the notes to *Nem.* iii.76 (iii.54.8 f. Drachmann) that in Homer Achilles learns only medicine from Cheiron whereas παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις Cheiron brings him up (cf. the A Scholia to *Il.* xi.832, iii.289 Erbse). Apollonius sophista (ca. 100 A.D.), who also drew heavily on Aristarchus, uses the term in exactly the same way: for example, the use of the Homeric gloss νέποδες in the sense ἀπόγονοι is a παράκρουσμα τῶν νεωτέρων ποιητῶν (meaning Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius: Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 533). It is in this sense, of course, that Cicero used the term of certain contemporary writers; *not* heralding them as prophets of a "new poetry," but precisely because (in his opinion) they were *epigoni*.

For the second-century metrician Hephaestion, οἱ νεώτεροι were all who wrote after the classical poets in general. He twice uses the phrase when discussing Archilochus and those who used his meters after him: the first time the example cited turns out to be Cratinus (p. 49.19 Consbruch) the second Callimachus (p. 50.7); elsewhere, again concerning Archilochus, he uses a different formula, οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, once more quoting Callimachus (p. 19.11). George Choeroboschus, a sixth-century commentator on Hephaestion, when discussing the correption τῶιοῦτος in Hipponax (p. 194.22 Consbruch) adds οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς νεωτέρους χρῆσθαι — meaning of course his own contemporaries. Later Hephaestion scholia (ibid. p. 285.10) refer to the anacreontics of νεώτεροι, quoting the seventh-century Sophronius. A recently published example is *P. Oxy.* 2819, a fragment from a commentary on an unknown hexameter poem claiming that the singular Συμπληγᾶς, that is, one clashing rock, was used ὑπὸ τ(ῶν) νεωτέρων. This time the reference is

¹⁸ See too the notes on B.867, H.475, Θ.148 and many other examples quoted by J. Baar, *Index zu den Ilias-Scholien* (1961) 118; cf. too R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (1968), 230, 262. Much the fullest collection of references to νεώτεροι in the scholiasts is A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Paris 1928), 31–61, which I only discovered (thanks to J. E. G. Zetzel) after I had already compiled my own list. It is hardly necessary (though not irrelevant) to compare the depreciatory flavor in νεωτερίζειν, νεωτερισμός, novae res and similar phrases.

presumably to Euripides, who twice has a single Symplegas (*I.T.* 241; *Andr.* 794) — though editors have naturally been unable to resist the temptation to “restore” the partner demanded by tradition and logic. Among many other such references in the scholia we find Aeschylus and Sophocles, Antimachus and Lycophron, Eratosthenes and Aratus, all cited from time to time as νεώτεροι. None more frequently, in the Homer scholia of course, than Hesiod.

For the Latin grammarians the classical canon closed with Vergil. Here *neoterici* are usually what we call the poets of the Silver Age; for example, Servius on *Aen.* vi.320, “*lividum*” *invidum non nisi apud neotericos invenimus: Lucanus . . . ; Aen.* xi.715, *etiam in neotericis: Iuvenalis . . . ; Aen.* vi.187, *quamquam neoterici . . . Persius . . .* (this categorization in Servius is, of course, quite irrelevant to the fact that Persius himself disapproved of the “moderns” of his own day); and Pompeius (*GLK* v. 232.36), discussing the correption of final -o in the first person present indicative, a licence admitted by *neoterici . . . omnes, Statius et alii*. The terms with which the *neoterici* are contrasted are *firmi auctores*, *antiqui* or (more frequently) *idonei*,¹⁹ the classics, writers whose usage has the appropriate *auctoritas*; for example, Pompeius (*GLK* v. 146.21): *habemus exempla . . . sed in neotericis: in antiquis non invenimus* (cf. v. 213.16; Servius on *Aen.* v.823, vi.154). Servius on the genitive of *cucumis* (*Geo.* iv.122): *hic cucumis, huius cucumis . . . secundum idoneos, nam neoterici “huius cucumeris” dixerunt* (Probus, *GLK* iv. 24.32, quotes Martial for *cucumerem*). It is in *this* sense that Terentianus contrasts *novelli* with *veteres*, apologetically, well aware that their practice does not have the same authority. Most relevant to our present concern, on *Aen.* xii.923 Servius remarks that *instar* ought not properly to take a preposition, *licet* Serenus “*ad instar*” *dixerit, quod in idoneis non invenitur auctoribus*. For Servius, then, Serenus was indeed a *neotericus* — though not in opposition to (as Castorina’s thesis would require) but lumped together with Lucan, Persius, Statius, and Juvenal!

Two slightly different cases are Seneca, *Apoc.* 12.29 and Vergil, *Ecl.* iii.86. In the first passage the Emperor Claudius is made to say

o cauidici, venale genus,
vosque poetae lugete novi.

The reason lawyers should lament his passing is the profit they had been making from the inordinate time Claudius devoted to the courts, and in this context the “new poets” should be living poets whose efforts

¹⁹ P. Wessner, *Philol. Wochenschrift* (1929) 330 f.

Claudius had been favoring.²⁰ The implication is certainly that they were unworthy of this favor, but simply because they were bad, not because they shared any particular common poetic credo.

Whatever Vergil may have meant by what Bramble rightly calls the "surprising" phrase "Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina" (*Ecl.* iii.86), I doubt if it was anything so specific as poems "in the neoteric style" or "the Alexandrian manner" (Coleman, ad loc.); less however because, as Bramble (taking the genre in question to be tragedy) puts it, "Tragedy is an unexpected addition to the repertoire of the late Republican *novi*" (p. 183), than because the *nova* is apparently uniquely here applied as a term of praise.²¹

For Latin critics the definition of "neotericism" was even less precise than for their Greek colleagues. Vergil himself, as the archaizing scholars of the second century (to whom we shall be returning) felt particularly strongly, might be found wanting by the purer standards of Homer or his Latin predecessors, however arbitrarily interpreted. For example, with *Aen.* iii.119, *taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo*, Aulus Gellius compared *Il.* xi.728, ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῶ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι (*NA* xiii,27.3). Reasonably enough; there can be little doubt that Vergil did take the structure of his line from Homer. For Gellius, however, this is a clear illustration of the inferiority of Vergil: Homer's line is *simplicior et sincerior*, Vergil's νεωτερικώτερος *et quodam quasi ferumine immisso fucator*, more "tricked out" by the addition of "cement" or "glue." It is presumably the apostrophe or bucolic diaeresis that he took exception to, in combination certainly un-Homeric though scarcely meriting such stern censure. Then there is *Aen.* xii.605, where all manuscripts give *flavos Lavinia crines*. But according to Probus (presumably Valerius Probus the late first-century grammarian, of whom more below) *antiqua lectio* "floros" *habuit, id est florulentos, pulchros* (quoted by Servius, ad loc). This was alleged to be *sermo Ennianus* and further supported by the phrase *flori crines* cited from Accius (*Bacchae* 255R = 218 W, cf. 246 R = 225 W). *Floros* may or may not be what Vergil wrote (Mynors and Geymonat perhaps rightly

²⁰ Quite possibly the poets of the *Garland* of Philip of Thessalonica, which was not published under Gaius, as usually supposed, but (as I shall shortly be showing elsewhere) under Claudius or Nero.

²¹ It should be obvious that when Catullus calls the book he is dedicating to Nepos *lepidum novum libellum* he means only that this is his latest book, the one he has just finished. And when we read in Suetonius, *De gramm.* 16, that the grammarian Caecilius of Epirus, a friend of Cornelius Gallus, was the first *Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere*, here too the reference is surely just chronological; it was not customary to teach living poets in school.

keep *flavos*, in healthy reaction against the earlier tendency to believe in these suspicious *antiquae lectiones* dug out by second-century scholars from old and often allegedly autograph manuscripts²²); but Probus' criticism of *flavos* as *neotericum* merely betrays his own preference for recherché archaism. Any deviation from Republican usage was liable to be similarly stigmatized by such blinkered pedants. On *Aen.* x.192, for example, Servius quotes the opinion that "*canentem senectam*" *pro albo colore neoterice dictum putant*; and on *Aen.* xi.590 that *neotericum putatur ipsum* "*sagittam ultricem*". The whole of *Aen.* viii.731, *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum* was alleged to be *magis neotericus*, the grounds here being merely that *hunc versum notant critici quasi superfluo et humiliter additum nec convenientem gravitati eius*. There are dozens more passages where the word used is *nove*; for example, on *Aen.* iii.221, "*caprigenumque pecus*" *satis nove et adfectate*; *Aen.* iv.50, "*sacrisque litatis*" *diis litatis debuit dicere . . . ergo nove dixit*. Nor were such criticisms confined to the poets. Cicero too was a target. So harmless a phrase as *cum ita perspicuum sit ut oculis iudicare possitis* (*Div. Caec.* 15), according to the fifth-century commentator known as Ps.-Asconius (*Schol. Cic.* ii.191.4 Stangl), *quidam leviter a Cicerone dictum et neoterice putant*.

These criticisms we may presume to have originated in the age of Probus and Gellius, the very age in which, so Castorina would have us believe, a movement arose whose members proudly proclaimed themselves *novelli* or *neoterici*.

It would no doubt be easy enough to find more examples, but the present collection amply warrants at least one important general conclusion: in no case do *νεώτερος* or *neotericus* refer to a school of poets quoted in its own right for some new or idiosyncratic poetical theory or practice. They are quoted rather for some detail of usage which is either stated or implied to be unclassical or incorrect. It is a term which has no precision except insofar as it defines a relationship to an agreed classical standard. No one *neotericus* need have anything in common with any other beyond a shared deviation from that standard. For Pompeius, for example, short final -o — and for Cicero at *Orator* 161 the reluctance to drop final s before a consonant (*offensio . . . quam nunc fugiunt novi poetae*); at *Att.* vii.2.1 no more than the affectation for σπονδειάζοντες.

Why should the practice of Terentianus (*nemo tamen culpet si sumo exempla novella*) and Diomedes have been any different? Serenus they

²² J. E. G. Zetzel, *HSCP* 77 (1973) 231 f.

evidently felt to be in a rather special category. On points of postclassical usage it was natural that Servius should bracket him straightforwardly with the *neoterici*. But as a metrician he was not (like Lucan, for example, or Juvenal) just a late practitioner of the classical forms. His innovations (pp. 146f) had a certain validity and indeed influence; they deserved to be treated in their own right and are invariably ascribed to him by name. Hexameter/sotadeans and anacyplics, by contrast, were mere frivolities, quoted in the grammaticus' lectures to show his class that meter could be fun — but duly labeled “neoteric” to put them in their place.

But the galliambic is something of a puzzle. Cicero might perhaps have felt it to be a neoteric frivolity (though we have no evidence that he used the term for anything other than epic),²³ but by the standards of the late empire Catullus and Varro and even Maecenas can hardly have been counted *neoterici*. It has not, I think been noticed in this connection that Hephaestion also introduced the galliambic as a “neoteric” meter (so called, he says, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν γράψαι τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ, p. 38.13). What he meant is clear enough: in Greek it was by his standards indisputably a postclassical meter (Callimachus is the first known practitioner). Is it really credible that the agreement of Hephaestion and Diomedes here is just to be put down to coincidence? No one familiar with the metrical writers of the late empire is likely to think so. They all derive at various removes and to various degrees from one or more now lost sources of the first century B.C. or A.D. It is hardly outrageous to suggest that Diomedes and Hephaestion are drawing here on just such a lost common source. That is to say, Diomedes has simply taken over the categorization of a Greek source. He wrote *neoterici* here, not because he had any particular group of poets of any particular period in mind, but quite simply because it was the word he found in his source.

In so far as we can date the work of the three sets of *neoterici* he quotes, all are different. This need occasion no surprise. The various *neoterici* quoted by Hephaestion and Servius were likewise different poets of different periods. The relativity and elasticity of the term can be neatly illustrated by the editor's preface to the tripartite corpus generally known as the *Origo gentis Romanae*. His sources he divided into two categories: *omnis priscorum historia*, those he (claimed to have) consulted for the *Origo* itself; and then (respectively for the *De viris illustribus* and Victor's *Caesares*) *proinde ut quisque neotericorum asseveravit, hoc est*

²³ Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (1974) 51.

et Livius et Victor afer. Here is a man able to count his mid-fourth-century contemporary Aurelius Victor and Livy as *neoterici* indifferently. Or compare St. Jerome, in his commentary on *Galat.* 3.5 (*PL* 26.418): *pulchre quidam de neotericis, Graecum versum transferens, elegiaco metro de invidia lusit*, quoting a fairly competent elegiac version of *AP* xi.193. Now the elegiac couplet is not a meter employed by the poets of the second century. Indeed, the direct translation of Greek epigrams into Latin was a sudden fashion of Jerome's own day, as illustrated by the epigrams of Ausonius and the *Epigrammata Bobiensia*. So the chances are that Jerome had a contemporary poet in mind.

SERENUS AND ANNIANUS

The Catullus and Calvus of the *poetae novelli* are supposed to be Serenus and Annianus. Were they then close friends, writing poems about each other,

reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum ?

In all probability they never met. Our evidence for second-century literary chronology is woefully inadequate,²⁴ but what we have suggests that Serenus lived something like a generation after Annianus.

Concerning Annianus we have a few personal details from Aulus Gellius, who apparently knew him quite well. He was a delightful as well as a learned man, with a most pleasant conversational style. He had a Faliscan farm where he used to invite guests for hilarious parties at the festival of the Vindemia each year, Gellius included, and quote Republican poets at them (*NA* vi.7; xx.8; cf. ix.10.1). These parties cannot, alas, be dated, but if Gellius, born between 115 and 120, published the *NA* between 146 and 158,²⁵ and if Annianus heard Valerius Probus, dead by and perhaps well before c. 110,²⁶ lecture on Plautus (*NA* vi.7.3), then presumably in the 140s or early 150s.

He wrote *Fescennini* (Ausonius, *Cento nupt.* 145 Sch. = 215 P), of which nothing survives, and *Falisca* or a *carmen Faliscum* (see pp. 166f),

²⁴ We have no firm dates for the mass of information in Gellius and nothing but a Hadrianic *floruit* for Florus: on the chronology of Fronto see now the thorough study by E. Champlin, *JRS* (1974) 136–157.

²⁵ R. Marache, *Aulu-Gelle* 1 (1967) ix–xii, and in *Lustrum* 10 (1965) 228–231.

²⁶ R. Hanslik, *PW* viii A.197.

of which we have probably two fragments²⁷ quoted by Terentianus (1816 f):

atque ille *poeta Faliscus*,
cum ludicra carmina pangit,
"uva, uva sum, et uva Falerna,
et ter feror et quater anno."

[fr. 1 Morel]

libro quoque dixit eodem
"undae unde colonus ecae,
a flumine venit Oronti."

[fr. 2]

poeta Faliscus and *uva Falerna* clearly point to Annianus and the Faliscan farm where he celebrated the Vindemia.

It is what Morel classes as fr. 3 that causes problems. At 1990–91 Terentianus introduces a meter which was invented (he says) by Serenus:

hoc refert sane, brevis ut paenultima fiat,
ultima quae metro fuit hoc inventa Sereni.

It was Serenus (that is) who made the penultimate syllable short. Then, after the remark already discussed about lyric poets innovating, he continues:

talia *docta Falisca* legimus 1998
(nam tibi notius hoc genus erit
carmine siquid ab hoc posuero):
"quando flagella iugas, ita iuga,
vitis et ulmus uti simul eant:
nam nisi sint paribus fruticibus,
umbra necat teneras Amineas."

L. Mueller firmly argued that *docta Falisca* pointed to Annianus as the author of the quotation (whence Morel fr. 3).²⁸ Castorina (pp. 207–219) and Bardon²⁹ have reclaimed it, surely rightly, for Serenus. Why should Terentianus quote Annianus to illustrate what he has been describing with some emphasis and for several lines as an innovation of Serenus? Both Marius Victorinus (*GLK* vi.122. 15f, confused³⁰) and Servius (on *Aen.* iv.291) attribute lines 1–2 to Serenus, and though it is

²⁷ For the authorship of fr. 4 (Serenus) see App. A.

²⁸ *Rhein. Mus.* (1870) 338 f.

²⁹ *La littérature latine inconnue* 2 (1956) 236.

³⁰ See App. A.

true that they derive here from Terentianus, the fact remains that this is the way they understood him.

To the arguments of Castorina and Bardon one simple yet decisive point can be added. Serenus wrote *after* Annianus. Unknown to Gellius or Fronto, he is first mentioned by Terentianus, who says he wrote *nuper* (1891), another of those irritatingly relative terms (that is to say we cannot, with Castorina, just assume that Terentianus actually knew Serenus). Terentianus' date is unfortunately quite uncertain. Since he quotes no datable writer later than the mid-second-century (the undatable Serenus is in fact the latest), the conventional and convenient assumption is that he wrote toward the end of that century³¹ (it is an article of faith among classical scholars that ancient writers publish immediately after their last datable reference). Let us be honest. We have no way of knowing whether Terentianus wrote in the late second or early to mid-third century. And though we have been talking so far of "second-century poets," Serenus himself (as too Alfius Avitus, see p. 145) might easily belong early in the third century.

It follows that if Terentianus knows what he is talking about at all, that is to say, if the meter in question was indeed first used by Serenus,³² then he *cannot* have illustrated it by a quotation from Annianus. So the lines must come from a poem by Serenus, *also* called *Falisca*.

The existence of such a second *Falisca* is confirmed, as has long been seen, by a line in Servius' *Centimeter*:

docta Falisca, Serene, reparas.

This is not a genuine quotation but, like the other quotations in the book, Servius' own metrical illustration.³³ *Docta Falisca* comes from Terentianus 1998, of course: nonetheless the line does tell us something that does not come from Terentianus. Serenus "revived" the learned *Falisca*. That is to say, he wrote his own *Falisca*,³⁴ in imitation of and homage to Annianus.

This is not a new observation, but its relevance to the notion of a regular school of "new poets" seems not to have been appreciated. When we talk of a "school" or "movement" of writers, what we normally have in mind is a group of contemporaries sharing the same literary

³¹ Schanz-Hosius, iii³, 27.

³² See p. 148.

³³ Schanz-Hosius, iv. 1, 176.

³⁴ *Opuscula* and *Ruralia* are the titles from which the grammarians quote; whether either is the same as or includes the *Falisca* is uncertain. Or perhaps *Falisca* was not actually the title of Serenus' revival of Annianus' *Falisca*.

tastes and antipathies, acting and reacting within the same cultural climate, influencing and being influenced by each other. But in the case of our *novelli poetae* we discover that features common to its supposed leading members were obtained, not by the similar response of like-minded contemporaries to the same intellectual stimuli, but by one of them setting out to revive the work of the other a generation or more later. Imitation of a predecessor is, or can be, a perfectly respectable literary activity, to be sure, but it hardly constitutes a literary movement.

ALFIUS AVITUS AND MARIANUS

Another popular candidate for the *poetae novelli* is Alfius³⁵ Avitus, who wrote several books in iambic dimeters under the title *Excellentes*, "Famous Men." Terentianus (according to Castorina) regarded this use of the dimeter *κατὰ στίχον* as particularly characteristic of the *novelli*. Let us have a look at what Terentianus actually says:

plerumque nec carmen modo,	2446
sed et volumen explicat [sc. the dimeter];	
ut <i>pridem</i> Avitus Alfius	
libros poeta plusculos,	
usus dimetro perpeti,	2450
conscribit "Excellentium."	
tales trimetris subdidit Flaccus suis,	
ut carmina ostendunt decem [<i>Epod.</i> i-x]:	
"ibis liburnis inter alta navium,	
amice, propugnacula" [<i>Epod.</i> i.1-2].	2455

"Terenziano non chiama *novelli* tutti i poeti che hanno usato il dimetro giambico," claims Castorina, "ma solo coloro che ne hanno fatto un *usus perpes*" (p. 173). Terentianus says nothing whatever about *any* poets who used the iambic dimeter being called *novelli*. He merely remarks that while it was "mostly" (*plerumque*) used for a whole book, quoting Avitus as a typical example, Horace only used it, in alternation with trimeters, for individual poems. Not a word about *novelli*. Quite the contrary. Avitus is said to have written *pridem* "a long time ago." Another relative term, of course, but the probability is that Avitus wrote at any rate earlier than *Septimius, qui scripsit opuscula nuper* (1891). And the implication of the passage (rightly or wrongly) is surely that

³⁵ Terentianus preserves "Alfius" for the poet against the more "correct" Alphius or Alpheus of Priscian (source of the fragments), unfortunately followed by Morel, p. 143.

it was Horace who was unusual in *not* using the dimeter κατὰ στίχον rather than that this was a later innovation.

It may be added that there is nothing in the subject matter or style of Avitus' three fragments to associate him closely with Serenus or Annianus. The first is a rather rhetorical excerpt from the story of the rape of the Sabine women, the second a straightforward piece of narrative from the story of the Faliscan schoolmaster who tried to betray his city to Camillus (after Livy v. 27.2). No archaisms, no neologisms, certainly no trace of "rural-popular-realism."

The poet has long been identified with P. Alfius Avitus Numerius Maternus, known from the monument he dedicated to his father, P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Licinianus, in their native Spain (*ILS* 2931). Now the father held the post of *praetor parthicus*, presumed to have been created by Hadrian for the games held in celebration of Trajan's Parthian victory. A Hadrianic/Antonine date for Avitus, "nel pieno fiorire del movimento" (p. 240), naturally suited Castorina very well. But whatever the probability of the identification (Groag was more cautious: see his note on *PIR* i², 531), the monument itself has long since been transferred from the reign of Hadrian to the Severan age³⁶ (the *praetor parthicus* merely provides a Hadrianic *terminus post quem*). Other evidence is also now available: an Alfius Avitus attested by an inscription published in *Not. d. Scavi* 1931 (p. 345, l. 85) as one of the choir of boys from senatorial families who performed at the *ludi saeculares* of 204; and an "A(l)fius" Avitus governor of Lower Pannonia in 244/246.³⁷ J. Fitz's recent study of the family plausibly identifies both choirboy and governor with Alfius Avitus Numerius Maternus.³⁸ Fitz left the poet out of account, thinking him a second-century figure. But nothing forbids a third-century date, and it would be nice to think of the future poet singing a *carmen saeculare* as a boy. Even if the choirboy is his son, this would still mean a Severan *floruit* for the poet, involving in turn a correspondingly later date for both Serenus and Terentianus. It must be emphasized that these identifications are not certain (a so far unattested Antonine kinsman is always a possibility); but they are plausible, and their chronological repercussions must be squarely faced. At least two of our supposedly Antonine poets may well be Severan.

Indeed, the only argument for putting Avitus in the second century

³⁶ G. Barbieri, *L'Albo senatorio da Severo a Carino* (1952) nos. 634 and 636.

³⁷ *CIL* iii.1043b.

³⁸ *Epigraphica* (1961) 84 f. See now Á. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien* (1968) 93-94; 103-104.

at all is his allegedly "neoteric" use of the iambic dimeter, which is presumed, quite arbitrarily, to have been confined to the age of Hadrian and the Antonines.

It is natural to bracket Avitus with Marianus, author of a *Lupercalia*, of which we have one fragment. It tells, again in iambic dimeters, of a daughter of Aesculapius called Roma from whom the city was to take its name. Unlike Serenus but like Avitus, style and vocabulary are both simple. For Castorina, of course (p. 242), both meter and subject matter (subject matter, because he has already dubbed Avitus *novellus*) make it "certain" that Marianus too is one of the *novelli*. There are obvious similarities between Marianus and Avitus, to be sure, but nothing that amounts to evidence that they were even contemporaries, much less members of a school, still less members of the same school as Annianus and Serenus.

VARIETAS METRORUM

"È un fatto innegabile che la *varietas metrorum* dei *novelli* costituisce un ritorno del tutto corrispondente all'elemento popolare riaffiorato alla fine del I secolo" (Castorina, 192). There are two quite separate assumptions here. First, that polymetry is a notable feature of the "school" as a whole. Second, that the meters in question are in some sense "popular." It seems to me highly doubtful whether either proposition is true.

All the extant fragments of Avitus, Marianus, and the unnamed friend quoted by Gellius (*NA* xix.11, see p. 163) are in iambic dimeters. Our two fragments of Annianus are both in the same "Faliscan" meter (paroemiacs). On the surviving evidence it is Serenus alone who wrote in a variety of meters (14 different meters in only 25 fragments). The traditional assumption that all the others were polymetrists too is circular, depending as it does on the assumption it is supposed to support, namely that they all belonged to a closely knit school with common poetical aims. Their fragments are too few to permit any confident conclusions, but if the other supposed *novelli* had been noted for their polymetry, then we should expect to find them quoted in the metrical writers. Yet it is only Serenus they quote. Since Serenus is in all probability later than all the others, the presumption is that none of them had previously used *any* of the meters for which he is quoted. I would suggest that Serenus' learned and artful polymetry is not at all the same thing as the vogue for simple iambic dimeters. There are no *metra novella* (Castorina's spurious technical term); no school of polymetrists. There is only Septimius Serenus.

We may now turn to the notion that these meters were in themselves "popular." Not only popular but essentially Italian, a resurgence of native metrical forms, poetry of the people. Castorina begins his discussion "by way of example," with what he calls a meter "typical of the *novelli*," namely the iambic dimeter. "Typical" is not perhaps quite the word: it happens to be the only meter that more than two of them use. And what reason have we for supposing that it was popular? Two centuries later, through St. Ambrose, it was to become the standard meter of Christian Latin hymnography (*Deus, creator omnium; A solis ortus cardine; Vexilla regis prodeunt*; and countless others). But we do not know why Ambrose chose the meter. Not, I suspect, for its popular associations, but because, practical man that he was, he saw that iambic dimeters were peculiarly well suited to short, simple verses designed to be sung. Castorina invokes the "popular" influence of Plautine iambs. To be sure, there are thousands of iambs in Plautus; senarii, septenarii, octonarii — but of *dimeters* barely a handful, and then not *κατὰ στίχον*. Furthermore, Plautine iambs notoriously ignore the dipody principle. For all their cultivation of the *vocabulary* of Republican drama (see below), the second-century poets conspicuously drew the line at second- and fourth-foot spondees. Like Terentianus, they were doubtless well aware that the dramatists wrote thus *ut quae loquuntur sumpta de vita putet*³⁹ (2233), but they were evidently not sufficiently interested in aiming at the same effect to follow their metrical practice. Their only Latin predecessor as a writer of iambic dimeters is Laevius, who, like them, followed Greek, not Roman, models⁴⁰ and can scarcely be called a popular writer.

There is in fact some positive evidence against the supposition of a long Italian tradition behind the iambic dimeter. Inscriptional poetry may not be "poetry of the people" in the fullest sense, but it is at any rate closer than almost any literary texts we possess. If we may take Buecheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* as a representative guide to its meters, then it is surely significant that there are about 600 poems each in hexameters and elegiacs, some 200 in iambic senarii — but a mere *seven* iambic dimeters⁴¹. Furthermore, while most of the senarii follow

³⁹ Terentianus was apparently unaware that it was not just the comedians but also the tragedians and even such imperial writers of the "low" style as Phaedrus who put spondees in the wrong places. Note too his revealing terminology: "*vitiant iam̄bum tractibus spondiacis . . . in metra peccant arte, non inscitia*" (2234-37).

⁴⁰ J. Granarolo, *D'Ennius à Catulle* (1971) 29, n.2 makes the same point discussing the presumed influence of Plautus on Laevius' dimeters.

⁴¹ See the interesting discussion in W. Beare, *Latin Verse and European Song* (1957) 177 f.

Roman practice, most of the dimeters do not. More generally, it will be seen how little basis there is in the evidence for the assumption that this turning away from the hexameter that is undeniably a feature of the poets of the second century is a popular rather than a learned movement.

Avitus' and Marianus' dimeters are certainly plain, not to say downright flat (medieval copyists can be forgiven for taking our one fragment of Marianus for prose!). But whether they were consciously trying to present a down-to-earth poetic version of Roman history or simply lacked ability and inspiration is impossible to say.

Of Serenus' dimeters rather more can be said. In vocabulary at any rate they are anything but simple, for example, fr. 3:

occatio occaecatio.

Was the man in the Roman street expected to recognize Cicero's suggested etymology for the word *occatio* ("harrowing") from the "hiding" (*occaecare*) of the seed in the earth?⁴² The noun *occaecatio* was doubtless coined specially to make the line. Then there is fr. 1:

aut zonulam aut acum aut ricam.

Editors have always followed Mueller's transposition of *acum* and *ricam* to restore the iambic dimeter. But with a poet who demonstrably and habitually resurrected and even invented unusual metrical forms, is there any real justification for emending away a perfect *choliambic* dimeter? The line is quoted by the grammarian Nonius (p. 865L) for the obsolete archaism *rica* (a woman's sacrificial veil), for which he could only otherwise quote Lucilius, Novius, Plautus, Turpilius, and the adjective *ricinus* in Varro. *Zonula* too appears here for the first time since Catullus. Can we seriously entertain the notion that this sort of thing, skilful and entertaining though it might be, is genuine popular poetry?

The other obvious candidate for the title "meter of the people" is the so-called "Faliscan" meter of Serenus, perhaps best classified as a miuric dactylic tetrameter:

quando flagella iugas, ita iuga.

⁴² *De senectute* 51. Did Serenus perhaps take Cicero's etymology from Festus' epitome of Verrius Flaccus' *De verborum significatu* (date uncertain, but quite possibly earlier than Serenus), where it is quoted and praised (*venustissime*) as preferable to that of Verrius himself (in fact taken from Varro, *RR* 1.31.1), *ab occaedendo*, that is to say, from the hail breaking up the soil: see W. M. Lindsay's second edition of Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 4 (1930) 296-297? Isidore, *Etym.* 17.2.4, *et dicta occatio quasi obcaecatio*, may derive from Serenus (as quoted by Nonius) rather than Festus (as Lindsay supposed).

According to Marius Victorinus (GLK vi.122.10 f) this meter was originally used by Calabrian shepherds for country songs. There is also a well-informed medieval gloss (missed by Castorina) which may well derive (via Festus) from the Augustan scholar Verrius Flaccus, describing the "Calabrum" as a *genus versuum malorum quasi colobon vel iocularium*.⁴³ *Colobos* is a term for a line which is defective at the end,⁴⁴ in this case a reference to the "miuric" short penultimate. This might well seem to fit the traditional thesis to perfection, a "vehicle of the rustic banter of South Italian shepherds . . . raised to literary rank in the Empire by the Neoterici in rural lays."⁴⁵

Nonetheless, one or two reservations must be made. We should expect the popular songs of Calabria, home of Ennius, to be in Greek rather than Latin, an expectation borne out by Victorinus' parenthesis *metrum, quod Graeci Calabrimon appellant*. Now this information surely derives from a Greek metrician. The obvious guess so far is that some Hellenistic poet used the meter for bucolic poetry set in Calabria. Yet there is worse to come. Whatever later metricians or even Serenus himself may have thought, the connection with Calabria may be pure grammarian's fancy, based on a corrupt or misread text. There is a nexus of terms referring to satirical songs and rude dances (originating in Thrace, according to Pollux) spelled κόλαβρος, κολαβρισμός, κολαβρίζειν.⁴⁶ Καλ- forms are also found, but less well attested. And a glance at Keil's *apparatus criticus* to Victorinus 122.10 will show that "Colobrimon" rather than "Calabrimon" is the form indicated there too by the manuscripts.

Sadly enough it looks as if we must forget about Calabria and the "rustic banter of South Italian shepherds." Even so, the meter may have had popular associations in Greek, for it is the meter of a psalm by Serenus' near contemporary the Gnostic Valentinus:⁴⁷

πάντα κρεμάμενα πνεύματι βλέπω . . .

Of course it does not follow that it was a "popular" meter in Latin too,

⁴³ *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* iv.30.1 = Lindsay's *Festus*² (*Gloss. Lat.* iv), p. 172 with his *praef.*, pp. 77-90.

⁴⁴ *Thes. Lat. Ling.* iii.1694.24 f.

⁴⁵ Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* (1922) 294, n.1.

⁴⁶ For all the relevant texts see A. Sonny, *ALL* 12 (1902) 125; cf. too W. J. W. Koster, "De metro calabrio deque versibus miuris," *Hommages à M. Niedermann* (1956) 191-198.

⁴⁷ ap. Hippolytus, *Ref.* vi.37.7 = E. Heitsch, *Griech. Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* i² (1963), xliii with Wilamowitz, *Hermes* (1899) 218 (I cannot accept Heitsch's version of l.1).

though it is not impossible that Serenus used it in a deliberate attempt to capture for his own poetry the associations of the Greek meter.

The other "Faliscan" metre, used by both Annianus and Serenus, may be illustrated by Annianus 1.1 and Serenus 12:

uva, uva sum et uva Falerna.

labiumque insigne revellit.

Terentianus analyzed Annianus 1 as the last three and a half feet of a hexameter (1811 f), as did Diomedes Serenus 1 (*GLK* 1.514.6). A Greek metrician would have considered it a paroemiac (anapaestic dimeter catalectic). What did Serenus think? If the former, then he was inventing a meter (*hoc Serenus novum fecit*, Diomedes) under the influence of the bankrupt current "derivation theory" (*procreatio metrorum*), according to which all meters were built up from bits and pieces of the two original meters, dactylic hexameter and iambic trimeter.⁴⁸ If the latter, then he was introducing a Greek popular meter into a language where it had no such popular roots.

It is interesting that miuric paroemiacs (the miuric tetrameter lacking its initial syllable) are frequently found in late Greek songs of an unquestionably popular nature (for example, the Nile sailors' song Heitsch III, *Ναῦται βυθοκυματοδρόμοι*, or the Christian hymn *Amh. Pap.* 23, *Ἰησοῦς ὁ παθὼν ἐνὶ τύποις*).⁴⁹ Then there are the hymns of Mesomedes, with alternating regular and miuric paroemiacs. T.F. Higham has observed that all extant miuric verse, hexameters as well as tetrameters (and paroemiacs, it can be added), "were written, nominally at least, to be sung."⁵⁰ The same surely applies to the Faliscan verse of Annianus and Serenus. The insistence of Latin metricians on their originality is sufficient proof that they had no Latin predecessors. Independent and simultaneous development of the same range of meters for the same purposes in both Latin and Greek cannot be seriously considered, and no one will believe that Annianus and Serenus influenced Nile bargees and Christian hymn writers. We are left with the conclusion that they transposed this complex of Greek popular meters into Latin to provide a new form for their new brand of rustic poetry — an artificial but at the same time a bold and fascinating experiment, which shows them in a far more interesting light than the mere revivers of old Italian measures they have been considered hitherto. The vocabulary

⁴⁸ See R. Heinze, "Die Lyrische Verse des Horaz," *Vom Geist des Römertums*⁴ (1972) 230 f.

⁴⁹ P. Maas, *Philologus* (1909) 445-446; *Philol. Wochenschrift* (1922) 582.

⁵⁰ "Teliambi," *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays . . . G. Murray* (1936) 300.

of the Faliscan fragments is, predictably, as artificial as the meter. Serenus 12 is another quotation by Nonius, for the archaic neuter form *labium*,⁵¹ and for fr. 14 see below, p. 159. Fr. 7, *pusioni meo / septuennis cadus*,⁵² appears to come from a poem in continuous cretics, a "metre of song" (Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* 293). Assuming that resolution into paeons (υυυ-, -υυυ) was allowed, then Mesomedes' hymn to Isis provides an exact parallel.⁵³

Serenus 10 was analyzed by Terentianus (1975 f) as a hephthemimeres:

inquit amicus ager domino:
"si bene mi facias, memini."

Serenus too may have thought of it as the first three and a half feet of a hexameter, in which case it would be another example of *procreatio metrorum*. Maas compared the use of the same line *κατὰ στίχον* in an introductory poem prefixed to Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*,⁵⁴ which he argued to be not much later in date than the *Meditations*. More probably it is a purely Byzantine piece, perhaps actually the work of Arethas, but that does not rule out the possibility of a Greek parallel of earlier date.

As for style and vocabulary, Ser. 10 is a charmingly simple and direct piece: the obliging field makes a bargain with its owner to reciprocate if treated well. But compare fr. 15 in the same meter:

rure puella vagat virido.

Again, a delightfully simple, uncluttered scene. Yet it is another line quoted by Nonius (p. 749 L), for the obsolete active *vagat* for *vagatur*, together with examples in Accius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Turpilus, and Varro. Note too the (to my knowledge) unparalleled archaic second declension *virido*.

Frr. 17 and 16 (which, following Rostagni, I combine in this order) are proceleusmatic anapaestic dimeters:

perit abit avipedis animula leporis,
animula miserula properiter obiit

⁵¹ It is interesting to observe that Gellius' unnamed friend uses another archaic form of the word, *labeas*, in l. 6 of his poem (*NA* xix.11.4, cf. Morel p. 139), treated in the next section of Nonius (who misses this example). It is typical of Gellius that he uses the word himself (*ricu oris labearumque ductu*, xviii.4.6), an archaism not registered in R. Marache's *Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle* (1957).

⁵² *Cadens* manuscripts, "a seven year old jar of wine for my little boy."

⁵³ Heitsch II.5, cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (1921) 598.

⁵⁴ Also preserved as *AP* xv.23: see Maas, *Hermes* (1913) 295 and (against) L. G. Westerink, *Arethae Scripta Minora* 2 (1972) xvi. Cf. too Wagner, *Quaestiones neotericae* 20-21.

Wholly proceleusmatic verse is not found in Latin before Caesius Bassus, who quotes three examples in his *De metris* (264.27 f K = Morel 127), possibly of his own composition. Serenus doubtless knew Bassus, but on this occasion he may have been directly inspired by a particular Greek model. Some scholia to Hephaestion quote the following lines to illustrate the meter:⁵⁵

ἴθι μόλε ταχύποδος ἐπὶ δέμας ἐλάφου
 πτεροφόρον ἀνὰ χερὶ δόνακα τιθεμένη.

Someone, as Wilamowitz saw, presumably Artemis ἐλαφηβόλος, is killing or is about to kill a deer. Since ἀνὰ χερὶ would be unusual Greek for “in” or “with” a hand, and ἀνατιθέσθαι is never found in the sense “strike,” I suggest writing ἄνα, between commas, that is to say, “queen.” The scholia may be presumed to derive, via a fuller text of Hephaestion than the epitome we now possess, from a Greek metrician of the first century. It was surely here that Serenus found (among other things) his proceleusmatics. Given the extreme rarity of the meter, we can scarcely doubt that Serenus’ *avīpedis . . . leporis* is a deliberate imitation of *ταχυπόδος . . . ἐλάφου*, both phrases occupying the same position in the line.

It is interesting that another line quoted in illustration of the meter,

ὄνος ὄνος ἀπέθανε, τίνι τίνι θανάτῳ

like Serenus’ poem, concerns the death of an animal. Bergk guessed that it was a line from a comedy (*PLG* l.c.), but compare Diogenes Laertius’ humorous epitaph in the meter on Diogenes the Cynic, alleging that he was bitten to death by a dog (*Vit. Phil.* vi.79 = *AP* vii. 116):

A. Διόγενες, ἄγε λέγε, τίς ἔλαβέ σε μόρος
 εἰς Αἰδός; *Δ.* ἔλαβέ με κυνὸς ἄγριον ὀδᾶξ.

The common meter and the same question suggest the possibility that ὄνος ὄνος may have been the beginning of an independent poem describing the death of a donkey. ἴθι μόλε does not look like a funerary poem, yet we can hardly believe that the deer of line 1 escaped the “winged dart” of line 2. So Serenus’ poem, ὄνος ὄνος and ἴθι μόλε all deal with the death of animals, and Diogenes’ poem (the latest in date) with the death of a man killed by an animal, what we might call the

⁵⁵ Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* iii⁴ adesp. 113 (the text of the second line is very uncertain).

reversal of the motif. Ausonius' poem in the meter on the death of his aunt Veneria opening

et amita Veneria properiter obiit,

clearly a direct imitation of Serenus (see further below, p. 169), has lost the animal connection but is still an epitaph. The obvious explanation is that some well known (Hellenistic?) poet wrote a lament for or description of the death of an animal (of which ἔθι μόλε might be a fragment), the model for many later imitations and parodies.

Fr. 23 is a hymn to Janus in catalectic choriambic tetrameters. Castorina refers only to Caesius Bassus' brief section on Philicus' much longer choriambic hexameter, which he expressly states never to have been used by a Latin poet (263.27 K). Terentianus, however, to whom we owe this the longest fragment of Serenus, quotes Callimachus' hymn to Zeus and Apollo (fr. 229 Pfeiffer) in choriambic pentameters by way of parallel (1885 f), and Hephaestion too quotes Callimachus (p. 30.19 Consbruch). Once again, Serenus has surely drawn his inspiration from a Greek model quoted by a Greek metrician. Like his Greek models, he uses the meter for a hymn. The first three lines are regular catalectic tetrameters, for example, line 1:

Iane pater, Iane tuens, dive biceps biformis.

But the last two lines are characterized by both resolution and substitution not paralleled in what remains of Callimachus' hymn. In line 5 note particularly the resolution of the second choriamb to the limit:

$\begin{array}{ccccccc|ccccccc|cccc|cc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & - & & & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & - & - \\ \text{tibi} & \text{vetus} & \text{a} & & & & & \text{ra} & \text{caluit} & \text{abor} & & & \text{igineo} & & & & \text{sacello} & & & & \end{array}$

More interesting is the (perfectly legitimate) substitution of an iambic metron for the second choriamb in line 4:

$\begin{array}{cccc|cccc|cccc|cc} - & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & & - & \cup & \cup & - & & \cup & - & - \\ \text{cui} & \text{resera} & & & \text{ta} & \text{mugiunt} & & & \text{aurea} & \text{claustra} & \text{mundi} & & & & & & \end{array}$

The whole thing is a metrical tour de force, of purely Greek inspiration.⁵⁶ The vocabulary, of course, is as choice as usual (cf. *cate rerum sator*, l. 2; *cardinei* and *aborigineo*, lines 3 and 5, are otherwise unattested).

Frr. 8 and 9 are in glyconics:

ad mercatum eo, vilice:
quid vis inde vehi aut agi? (8).

⁵⁶ Later used (doubtless in direct imitation of Serenus) by Ausonius, *Bissula* (xxv Schenkl) v.

The bailiff is asked if he wants anything from the market: plain dialogue clearly expressed in simple words. But contrast the ludicrously elevated diction of fr. 9:

~ ~
 geritque intus in oppidum
 ~ ~
 anhelos Panopae greges.

The fisherman (one supposes) carries the "panting flocks of Panope" (that is, fish) into town (presumably to the market mentioned in fr. 8). And note too the iambic basis to the glyconics here. In Greek lyric, as is well known, the basis was variable. Horace standardized it to a spondee, in which he was followed by Seneca, the only Latin writer to use the line *κατὰ στίχον*. We can hardly suppose so sophisticated a metrist as Serenus to have been ignorant of this. Why then the iambic basis? He was showing off the knowledge of Greek practice he had obtained from the Greek metrical writer we have been postulating.

The five outstanding fragments 18–22 were all artificially produced by *procreatio metrorum*. fr. 18 is simple:

et nihil est quod amem Flaminia minus.

Penthemimeres + acatalectic dactylic dimeter (so Mallius Theodorus, *GLK* vi.590.6 f). Next, 19–21:

cedo, testula trita solo curret tibi per speculum Panope (19).
 qui navigium navicula aufers | Picenae marginis acta (20).
 pingere conlubitum est: graphidem date, | promite bolarium (21).

According to Diomedes, 19 is an anapaestic tetrameter catalectic (*GLK* i.511.18), 20 (which could be another tetrameter) is an anapaestic dimeter + paroemiac (ib. 517.27) and 21 a dactylic tetrameter + penthemimeres (518.3). Fr. 22,

quod si tibi virgo favens reseret cita claustra puerperii,

is, as Diomedes observes (518.8), the same as 21 with an extra syllable at the beginning. This is no doubt the way Serenus made it up. It would be interesting to know whether Serenus used each of these lines separately *κατὰ στίχον*, or some or all of them in alternation in one poem. Subject matter does not suggest that any of the lines quoted came from the same poem (21 and perhaps 19 could be first lines, though not 18 or 22).

It is hard to see how the notion of Serenus as a popular poet ever came to be formulated. The one and only Latin meter we *know* to have been

"popular," in the sense that it served as a vehicle for popular doggerel, soldiers' songs, and the like⁵⁷ is the trochaic septenarius. Fr. 6 has been analyzed as two trochaic septenarii, but it is hardly likely that so subtle and painstaking a metrician would have tolerated a hiatus between what would be the two halves of the first line, and he may rather have intended alternating trochaic dimeters acatalectic and catalectic:

Inferis manu sinistra
immolamus pocula.
laeva quae vides Lavernae,
Palladi sunt dextera.

Once more subject matter, archaic religious ritual, is anything but popular.

Serenus was a poet who strove at all costs for originality in meter. On the one hand he rejected all the familiar meters: not just senarii and septenarii, hexameters and elegiacs, and the hendecasyllable (much affected by Martial and the poets of Pliny's circle under Trajan), but also the whole range of Horatian meters. On the other, he invented a number of Greek meters, some perhaps "popular," most quite the opposite. For example, he knew from the metrical writers that Callimachus and Philicus wrote hymns in choriambic pentameters and hexameters respectively; so he wrote a hymn in choriambic *tetrameters*. The iambic dimeter was the only concession he made to current metrical fashion.

This proliferation of meters he combined with persistent use of archaisms and periphrasis. The fragments are so brief that it is hardly possible to judge what the overall effect must have been, but some have an undeniable and original charm. Artificial poetry is not necessarily bad poetry and metrical experimentation does not necessarily result in mere virtuosity. But artificial poetry it certainly is, designed for a small audience who shared the author's tastes and education.

ELOCUTIO NOVELLA

What now of the qualities of "realismo e popolarismo" that are supposed to be so characteristic of the *novelli*? There is a serious confusion here. The realistic treatment of everyday themes need not and

⁵⁷ For example, Beare, *Latin Verse and European Song*, 181-182, quoting some inscriptions as well as the familiar literary examples; it was another verse with a long medieval future. I shall be discussing the "popular" character of the trochaic septenarius ("informal" would be a better word) in a forthcoming edition of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

often does not involve the use of everyday language, as, to quote but one example, the *Mimes* of Herodas so clearly show. Castorina, however, misled by the rural subject matter and occasional snatches of simply expressed dialogue and ignoring such obvious high flown poeticisms as *Panopae greges* and *avipedis animula leporis*, concluded that the *novelli* as a whole “usarono un linguaggio familiare affine al sermo cotidianus” (p. 186). The most obvious proof of the artificiality of Serenus’ diction, its pervading archaism, he took to be its strongest colloquial feature. Archaism, as he justly remarks, is a dominant feature of the age, the Latin complement to the Atticism of the second Sophistic.

Unfortunately, however, Castorina has misunderstood the nature of the archaizing movement. The reaction of the Latin archaizers against the excesses of early imperial rhetoric took the form, he claims, of an attempt to restore simplicity of style and vocabulary that led to a reintroduction of everyday language into literature. This is simply not true.

In individual cases, to be sure, it is not always easy to distinguish between the archaic and the colloquial. But the study of archaism has progressed since the days when the language of Sallust could be considered colloquial.⁵⁸ It may well be the case that some of the words Fronto laboriously dug out of Caecilius and Plautus were colloquial in the sense that they were everyday usage of the second century B.C.; but that does not mean that they were still colloquial in the second century A.D., nor if they were is that why Fronto chose to use them. Old words were sought out simply because they were old and therefore, the assumption went, pure and correct. Every page of Fronto and Gellius makes it clear that in such matters the ultimate criterion was always an old book, not everyday usage. On the contrary, their work is characterized, as R. Marache, the historian of the movement, has observed, by “leur horreur de ce qui est quotidien.”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ E.g., W. L. Lebek, *Verba Prisca* (1970).

⁵⁹ *Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle* (1957) 272; cf. his *La critique littéraire de langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au II^e siècle de notre ère* (1952) 138 f (“Il [sc. Fronto] éprouve un insurmontable dégoût pour la langue courante . . .”). As for the apparent advice to Marcus *linguam communem reddas* (p. 154.20 Van den Hout), *communem* is a very uncertain restoration (*incertissimum*, V. d. H., and cf. Marache, *La critique* . . . 144, n.1). There is surely no need for further comment on Castorina’s even grosser misinterpretation of the Second Sophistic of the Greek world as corresponding “perfettamente ai caratteri della lingua popolare” (p. 181)! The true nature of the movement is revealed clearly enough in the more general, non-linguistic, archaizing tendencies described by E. L. Bowie, *Past and Present* (1970) 3–41.

Castorina, who makes no use of Marache's work, rests his case on a quaint mistranslation of one passage of Fronto, *De Eloqu.* i.2 (p. 134 Van den Hout), where *verborum omnium, ut ita dixerim, de populo* means, not *termini* "popolari," but, in the context of an elaborate simile comparing the searching out of the *mot juste* to the calling up of recruits in time of war, "from the whole word-population" (Haines ii,55)!⁶⁰

Castorina was also misled by what he took to be the significant correspondence between the term *poetae novelli* and the so-called *elocutio novella* of the archaizers. Naturally this "novelty" they shared consisted of the introduction of these popular elements into the literary language. Alas, *elocutio novella* is as bogus a term as *poetae novelli*. Castorina has fallen victim (more venially this time) to the still current misinterpretation of another letter of Fronto to the young Marcus (p. 146 Van den Hout):

pleraque in oratione recenti tua, quod ad sententias attinet, animadverto egregia esse; pauca admodum uno tenus verbo corrigenda; non nihil interdum *elocutione novella* parum signatum.

There is no justification whatever for extracting the words *elocutio novella* (usually capitalized) from their context as a technical term for the "new style" of Fronto and his school.⁶¹ The passage merely means, as Haines translates it (ii, 81): "Most things in your speech, as far as the thoughts go, I consider were excellent, very few required alteration even to the extent of a single word: some parts here and there were *not sufficiently marked with novelty of expression*." Compare p. 134 Van den Hout (of which Castorina quotes a misleadingly abbreviated extract):

in primis oratori cavendum ne quod novum verbum ut aes adulterinum percutiat, ut unum et id verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet.

Once more Haines has caught the sense perfectly: "First of all a speaker

⁶⁰ "La troupe des mots," Marache, *La critique* . . . p. 142.

⁶¹ (So most of the literary histories; there is actually an entry s.v. *elocutio novella* in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*), and cf., e.g., even M. D. Brock, *Studies in Fronto and his Age* (1911) 109: "Fronto blames Marcus for not giving to this *Elocutio Novella* sufficient prominence . . .," and A. D. Leeman, *Orationis Ratio* 1 (1963) 364, "The literary style of the age, proudly called *elocutio novella* . . ." On the other hand I cannot accept Marache's interpretation (*La critique* . . . p. 135) that "le style nouveau" means the "modern" style of the Silver Age, which Fronto was prepared to commend in moderation. This is surely a most implausible and unnecessary complication. Since I wrote the above, L. Holford-Strevens ("Elocutio Novella," *CQ* 26 (1976) 140-141) has offered what I shall be arguing elsewhere to be a mistaken new interpretation of the phrase.

must be on his guard against coining of a new word like debased bronze, so that each several word may be both known by its age and delight by its freshness" (ii, 54). Fronto is simply warning Marcus against the injudicious coining of new words. The *novitas* here envisaged is the originality obtained by the skillful deployment of *old* words.⁶² The same point is made at p. 154.20: *verbum aliquod adquiras non fictum a te (nam id quidem absurdum est), sed usurpatum concinnius aut congruentius aut accommodatius*. Compare too p. 93 Van den Hout = ii, 46 Haines, where Fronto is commenting on a figure of speech in an extract he has just quoted from the elder Cato: "This form of *paraleipsis* is original [*nova*] and, as far as I know, not employed by anyone else . . . You also have shewn originality [*a te quoque novum factum*] by beginning your speech with this figure, just as you will, I am sure, do many other original and brilliant things [*alia nova et eximia*] in your speeches, so great is your natural ability." Here Fronto is praising Marcus for precisely the qualities he found lacking in the first passage quoted: originality of expression. There is no reference in either passage to a new theory of style. All Fronto has in mind are the novel effects at which any orator aims. The only difference between him and his predecessors, whether the beloved Cato or the abominated Seneca, was the way this novelty was to be obtained: protracted research into the vocabulary of the *veteres*.⁶³ It is *this* that the poets and the orators of the age had in common.

There is nothing to suggest that Fronto and Gellius thought of themselves as doing anything new at all. On the contrary, their one aim was to revive the style of the ancients. There is indeed an undercurrent of polemic in Gellius *against* a "new movement,"⁶⁴ *novicii* as he calls them. They are a school of grammarians who attempt to explain usage by the (for Gellius) discredited method of analogy, without making a proper study of the ancient texts themselves.⁶⁵ For example, the word *emplastrum* is neuter, not feminine, as *isti novicii semidocti* maintain (xvi.7.13). Compare the *turba grammaticorum novicia* of xi.1.5, and the contemptuous reference at xvii.2.15 to those *qui grammaticorum nova instituta ut τεμένων ἱερὰ observant*. When Vergil is criticized, which is seldom indeed

⁶² Cf. Gellius xi.7.2 *nova autem videri dico etiam ea quae sunt inusitata et desita, etsi sunt vetusta*, though Gellius is here criticizing excessive indulgence in this sort of "novelty."

⁶³ See Marache, *Mots nouveaux* . . . *passim*.

⁶⁴ It is a curious paradox that Castorina overlooked this, the only "new" movement of the second century for which we actually have any evidence.

⁶⁵ See Marache, *La critique* . . . 208 f.

in Gellius, it is precisely for corrupting the simplicity of Homer with "neoteric" embellishments (p. 138). It would be surprising indeed if Fronto and Gellius had called their own movement "new."⁶⁶ We may appropriately compare the name Philostratus gave the parallel Greek movement he was proposing to chronicle: "not the *new* (for it is in fact old) but the *second* sophistic."⁶⁷

According to Marache, the archaizers did not in fact restrict their activity to the search for old words. In addition, they systematically coined new ones, on the analogy of archaic formations. Apuleius may well have done so. That Fronto did is less probable (it would directly conflict with his two very firmly expressed criticisms of the practice just quoted).⁶⁸

It matters little for our present purpose, since on the whole such alleged neologisms seldom approach everyday speech any closer than the archaisms. But it is interesting that, alongside the numerous and obvious archaisms in Serenus, we do find, as befits one closer to Apuleius than Fronto, a few striking neologisms, for example, in fr. 14,

culicellus amasio, Tulle,

there is the double diminutive *culicellus* ("tiny little gnat") from *culex*, and *amasio*, a by-form of *amasius* (a favorite word of the archaizers), first found in and no doubt coined by Apuleius.⁶⁹ Then the two brief iambic fragments 4 and 5: *semiremex Herculis* ("half an oarsman of Hercules" — whatever that may mean) and, a subtle piece of pedantry, *suave sibilum*. Did Serenus invent a neuter form for the classical *sibilus* by analogy with the heteroclite poetic plural *sibila*, or did he happen to come across it in a now lost early text? It is in the appreciation of details like this that the appeal of such poetry lay. It is a procedure illustrated to perfection in the pages of Gellius.

⁶⁶ At p. 153.1 Van den Hout, *novicius* is used by Fronto in a hostile sense: *quid in orationibus meis novicium, quid crispulum, quid luscum, quid purpurissolitur aut tumidum aut pollutum?* Marcus is represented as exclaiming ("What is there in my speeches new-fangled, what artificial, what obscure, what patched with purple, what inflated or corrupt?" Haines, ii, 111). Marache was surely mistaken to interpret *elocutio novella* in the light of this passage (see n.58).

⁶⁷ ἢν οὐχὶ νέαν (ἀρχαία γὰρ) δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσηγέον (*vit. Soph.* 481).

⁶⁸ *Mots nouveaux . . . passim*. Given the vast amount of not only archaic but classical literature that is lost to us but was no doubt available in the second century, it would be surprising if more than a fraction of Marache's "*mots nouveaux*" really were such. For Apuleius we now have L. Callebat, *Sermo cotidianus dans les Metamorphoses d'Apulée* (1968), a work of wider scope and interest than the title suggests.

⁶⁹ Marache, *Mots nouveaux . . .* 57-58, 195

The *novelli* can more usefully be seen, I would suggest, as archaizers who wrote in verse. The comparison suggests one further modification in the traditional picture. Castorina is anxious to have his *novelli* as Italian as possible. Annianus, we know, had a Faliscan farm and sang of his own vines; Marianus and Avitus both wrote on early Roman history. But we must beware of seeing a purely Italian movement here, a local resurgence of native Italian values and literary forms, for this preoccupation with the archaic language and Roman past is common to the archaizers too; yet the doyens of the movement, Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius were all Africans. And Apuleius' most famous work was a Latin version of a Greek novel.

Annianus is in fact the only poet of the age who may be presumed of Italian birth. Florus was an African who spent many years in Spain. If the traditional identification is accepted Avitus was a Spaniard. Hadrian too, of course, though born and educated at Rome, was technically a Spaniard.⁷⁰ Of Septimius Serenus and Marianus we know nothing. The Septimii seem to have been an African family,⁷¹ though naturally it does not follow that Serenus was born or resident there, though Terentianus "Maurus," regarded by many as a friend of Serenus, was certainly an African. Origin counted for little in the cosmopolitan world of the Roman empire. It was education that mattered. By the second century the Latin language and the history and culture of Rome were the common property of the educated classes all over the western provinces.

The revival of interest in rural themes was not restricted to the west. It will be enough to mention Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Dio of Prusa's *Euboicus* (*Or.* 7), and the *Rustic Letters* of Alciphron and Aelian. The connection with the atticizing movement in Greek as with the archaizing movement in Latin is obvious and understandable enough: in life as in language, ancient, simple, and rustic are polarized with modern, corrupt, and urban. In the Greek world too the most dedicated and successful atticists might as easily come from Naucratis or Samosata as from Athens.

Furthermore, the Greek element played more of a role in the Latin archaizing movement than has often been allowed. Archaism has roots going back to the age of Cicero, but the archaizing movement proper is something quite new and no one has seriously questioned the crucial role played by Fronto in its development. Norden thought that Fronto was straightforwardly influenced by the atticism of the Second Sophis-

⁷⁰ Syme, *JRS* (1964) 142 f.

⁷¹ A. Birley, *Septimius Severus: the African Emperor* (1971) 35 f.

tic.⁷² Marache, on the other hand, sees the movement as a natural development within Latin literature. Yet is it really credible that archaism developed to the same point at the same time in both literatures indepently? Fronto, Marache argues, was not especially well read in or enthusiastic about Greek literature: "On ne peut donc supposer, comme le voulait Norden, qu'il ait délibérément et volontairement importé l'atticisme en latin."⁷³

The matter is not quite so simple. If Fronto *had* been a true connoisseur and admirer of Greek literature, then (like so many westerners of that age, the Gaul Favorinus, for example, or his own most famous pupil Marcus) he would surely have written in Greek himself. It was precisely because he did *not* really know or like Greek that he wrote in Latin. But he knew enough Greek to realize that atticism was the dominant inspiration of contemporary Greek literature and that Greek literature as revived by atticism was enjoying an ascendancy that threatened to eclipse Latin altogether.

At such a moment it was natural enough for a man of letters who was unwilling or unable to throw in his lot with the current fashion to devote some serious thought to how Latin could compete. The obvious solution was for Latin to show Greek that it too had a glorious heritage of classics no less worthy of imitation. The ground was well prepared. The grammarian Valerius Probus had already brought about a marked revival of interest in republican literature at Rome. Probus studied at Berytus, where he is said to have rediscovered the old Latin poets. His researches were surely inspired by the archaizing of the Greek professors there.

This defensive aspect of the Latin archaizing movement comes out nicely in such stories as Gellius xix.9:⁷⁴ a number of Greeks were praising Anacreon and taunting a Latin rhetor called Antonius Julianus because Latin had nothing comparable to offer, when he astonished and delighted the company by quoting the epigrams of Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Serenus is a typical Latin archaizer in this respect. He read the old Latin poets for his vocabulary but knew enough Greek to be able to hold his head up in the company of educated Greeks. He took the trouble to go back beyond Horace to discover the truth about the Glyconic basis; he knew about choriambic hymns and was the first Latin writer to use the miuric verse then popular in the Greek world. Like

⁷² *Antike Kunstprosa* i⁵ (1958) 361 f.

⁷³ *La critique* . . . 169.

⁷⁴ And on Fronto, see Brock, *Studies in Fronto* 38-39.

other Latin archaizers, he was also prepared to use Greek words for technical or semi-technical terms, even in verse, for example, fr. 21:

pingere conlibitum est: graphidem date, promite bolarium.

Bolarium (*volarium*, MSS) is the Greek βολάριον (a word affected by the emperor Marcus) a "little lump," in the context presumably a lump of paint.

CONCLUSION

What is gained by throwing together all these poets, not one of whom can be shown to have been a contemporary of any of the others, under the one label *novelli* — a label, as we have seen, for which there is no ancient warrant?

Little indeed, if we are prepared to apply the label as loosely as Castorina, who is quite happy to include mid-first-century writers such as Caesius Bassus and Petronius (writers on "rural-realistic" themes in a variety of meters) no less than Hadrian and Florus and the author of the *Pervigilium Veneris*. Do the similarities between these writers really outweigh the differences?

Castorina's criteria are loose enough to take in almost anything but epic. On his terms there is little indeed to mark off Caesius Bassus from Annianus or Serenus — little but a century and more of social, political, and literary change. But if we stretch the term thus far, in what sense are we then entitled to call Annianus, who wrote some time in the first half of the second century, the "caposcuola del movimento dei *poetae novelli*"?⁷⁵ Does he then have something after all to offer that is not in Caesius Bassus?

Annianus' role within such a school is inferred from a misleadingly abbreviated quotation from Gellius: *Annianus poeta et plerique cum eo eiusdem Musae viri* (ix.10.1). The quotation continues: *summis assiduisque laudibus hos Virgili versus ferebant, quibus Vulcanum et Venerem iunctos mixtosque iure coniugii, rem lege naturae operiendam, verecunda quadam translatione verborum cum ostenderet demonstraretque protexit*. Castorina himself allows that we cannot press the historical accuracy of the *mise-en-scène* of these literary conversations in Gellius. But even so the passage does not, as the abbreviated quotation might seem to imply, represent Annianus at the center of a school of practicing poets. His

⁷⁵ P. 182; Castorina goes on to compare him with Valerius Cato, teacher (so he assumes) of the "new poets" of Catullus' day. Surely it is high time that this long exploded myth was finally discarded: see T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (1974) 53, though add now R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* 1979, 147.

companions "of the same Muse" are fellow *critics* of poetry, appreciators of Vergil's discreetly euphemistic allusion to the intercourse of Venus and Vulcan.

Gellius mentions one — only one — other contemporary poet, Julius Paulus (i.22.9; v.4.1; xvi.10.9; xix.7.1). Castorina takes it for granted that he can be classified as another *novellus*. Gellius does not so style him nor does he associate him with Annianus. He does indeed represent both as learned men and as owning estates to which they invited their friends at the Vindemia; but he does not say that either invited the other. Gellius also quotes a translation of a poem of Plato by an unnamed young friend (xix.11). It is in iambic dimeters and is also distinguished by other features characteristic of what Castorina has called "novellismo,"⁷⁶ diminutives and archaisms. But Gellius does not associate this youth with either Paulus or Annianus.

That there are close similarities in style as well as subject matter and meter between Annianus and Serenus is clear enough. For example, in the use of personification and dialogue; with Annianus fr. 1, where the vine delivers a monologue about itself, compare Serenus fr. 10, where the field makes a compact with its owner, and the apostrophe to the bailiff in fr. 8. But such parallels between Annianus and his professed imitator Serenus prove nothing about his influence on contemporaries. The two fragments which are all we have of his work are scarcely enough to prove "una originale concezione di poetica campestre,"⁷⁷ still less a contemporary vogue for such poetry.

The fragments of Avitus and Marianus show no such influence.⁷⁸ To put them in the "circle" of Annianus is not only to assign them a quite arbitrary date and location; it also involves expanding our original definition of "novellismo" to include historical as well as rural themes for the sole purpose of accommodating them. As for Serenus, he wrote on many themes other than rural: erotic, homosexual and heterosexual (?1, 7, 12, ?15); antiquarian (6); 23 is a hymn, and 16–17 a popular Hellenistic genre (if in an unusual meter), the lament for a dead pet (p. 152); 2 is from a satire of sorts, 22 apparently from an epithalamium. Fr. 25 is a grammarian's synopsis of a light-hearted mythological poem in which it was claimed that the Gorgons were not monsters at all, but

⁷⁶ Rightly castigated by Kenney as "an illegitimate term hatched in a mare's nest" (CR [1970] 52).

⁷⁷ Castorina, p. 204.

⁷⁸ As assumed, for example, in Rostagni's remark, "all'amore dell'antico fosse costantemente congiunto l'amore del rustico, del semplice, del popolare . . ." (*Storia della lett. Lat.* iii³, 288).

girls whose outstanding beauty struck susceptible young men dumb, whence the later exaggeration that they had been turned into stone. Fr. 13 even contains a joke:

callet senium arte bibendi.

The text of Nonius gives *vivendi*, a well-attested art (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii.667.54-63) in which old age might well be expected to excel. Morel was inclined to retain it, and suggested ending the "hexameter" (surely a paroemiac in any case) with *arte*. But who can believe Serenus capable of so clumsy a line? I suggest that we have a pun here: Serenus wrote *bibendi* but intended his readers to hear the expected *vivendi* as well and reflect that old age is good at both.

In short, though his work does have points of contact with Annianus and the two historical poets, if the fragments are any guide, it would seem to have been altogether more wide-ranging. It was certainly more ambitious in style and meter.

For Castorina, of course, Serenus is a typical representative of the "novelli"; the fact that we know more about him allows us to fill in our picture of others. I would suggest that this is an unsafe procedure — especially in view of his date.

Beyond question there are certain similarities between the poets of the second century. There was a general turning away from the grand themes and the grand style of the Silver Age — and from its meter *par excellence*, the hexameter. Simpler themes in shorter (though not always simpler) meters came to replace the mythological epics and the bravura rhetorical descriptions and declamations. Like the orators and the antiquarians the poets too looked back beyond the Silver poets (whom they did not read), beyond Vergil (whom they read and endlessly discussed but no longer imitated), to Catullus and Calvus and, beyond even them, to Laevius, Aedituus, Catulus, and the Republican dramatists.

But it is a grotesque oversimplification to attempt to pinpoint this widespread general movement in the initiative of a "new" school created by any individual poet, much less Annianus. Beyond question, as we have seen, its impetus came from the archaizing movement as a whole.

In the pages of Gellius, Annianus is shown admiring Vergil and quoting republican poets like any other archaizing savant of the age. At *NA* vi.8 he is represented discoursing on Plautine accentuation,

repeating what he had heard at the feet of the great Valerius Probus. Serenus yields to none in his study of the archaic poets. As for Avitus and Marianus, while the sixteen short lines that have come down to us reveal only one blatant archaism (*Curis* for *Quiris* at Avit. 1.1.1), the subject matter of both is thoroughly in the Gellian tradition, pure antiquarianism. Serenus also wrote on archaic ritual (fr. 6). Like Annianus, and not without justification, he earned the title *doctus* from admiring grammarians.

There is much in Castorina on the subject of *novelli* versus *veteres*. But there is neither evidence nor probability that Annianus or any other poets of his day were reacting against any specific older traditions. By then the force of the Silver Age had long since spent itself and the writing of short poems in short meters was well under way; witness the "Catullan" poets of Pliny's circle,⁷⁹ Florus, and Hadrian. Hadrian's address to his soul (App. B) answers all Castorina's main criteria for "novellismo"; archaisms, diminutives, and iambic dimeters. Since it was written in or not long before 138, the influence of Annianus could be invoked. But there is no need to suppose that Hadrian's poetic tastes were influenced by a specifically poetic movement rather than the general archaizing climate of the age. After all, it was from a close study of the early poets that the archaizers drew the major part of their choice vocabulary. Hadrian's succession of diminutives points to Fronto's favorite Plautus, and the meter, iambic dimeters with free resolution (resolution is *not* prominent in the dimeters of Avitus, Marianus, or Serenus) to the Laevius so admired by Gellius. Terentianus' *veteres* were not the Silver Age poets (whom, like Gellius, he ignored) but Vergil, Horace, Catullus, and the republican dramatists. His *novelli* were all and any poets later than this, worth quoting from time to time because, despite their lesser authority, they could occasionally illustrate a point of metrical interest.

The writing of literary history in terms of labels always tends to obscure both the individuality of individuals and the complexity of their relationships with both predecessors and contemporaries. In the second century we know little either of individual poets or of their relationships; even their chronology is quite uncertain. But the concept of a school of new poets is no way to fill these gaps. There is no evidence for their existence in the literature of the period and nothing is to be gained by inventing them now.

⁷⁹ E.g., Pliny *Epp.* iv.27.4; i.16.5.

APPENDIX A

ANNIANUS FR. 4

No recent writer, not even Castorina (see his p. 221), seems to have had any doubts about the attribution of Annianus fr. 4:

pergat amica venus modo iocis.

It is hard to account for such misplaced confidence. The only matter for debate, I would suggest, is whether (like fr. 3) it should be attributed to Serenus or left where Baehrens put it, among the *incerta* (fr. 115).

In the first place, the attribution to Annianus is a modern conjecture. The grammarian Marius Victorinus merely quotes it as *alteram Faliscorum carminum speciem* (GLK vi.123.31). Second, there is neither evidence nor probability that Marius Victorinus consulted a text of Annianus. At p. 123.20-21 he quoted, unattributed, as an example of another "Faliscan" meter, the two lines quoted by Terentianus 1821-22 from *ille poeta Faliscus*¹ (Ann. fr. 2). At p. 122.14 he quotes as an example of *quod genus metri Annianus Faliscum carmen inscribit* the line:

carmina per varios dare modos,

which is, of course, not Annianus at all but a line from Terentianus' own account of one of the new meters of *Serenus* (1993). It certainly looks as if Victorinus knew no more of Annianus than what he had read (or misread) in Terentianus (his whole section on meter is in fact very closely based on Terentianus). This would not be surprising. Though Ausonius had at least heard of his Fescennini (a reference which does not, *pace* Castorina, betray any great familiarity with the work), Annianus' poems did not last like those of his imitator Serenus. The only metricalian to quote him (excepting the passage of Victorinus under discussion) is the second- or third-century Terentianus, whereas Serenus continued to be quoted widely in the fourth- and fifth-century grammarians. Nonius, Diomedes, Mallius Theodorus, Servius, Martianus Capella, and the Scholia to Juvenal and Statius quote between them twenty-two of Serenus' fragments to Terentianus' four. Note too that Diomedes quotes as a novelty of Serenus (514.6K) the paroemiac *culicellus amasio Tulle*; apparently then he was unaware that this was a meter used by Annianus, whom we may presume him not to have read. So while Annianus might come as something of a surprise,

¹ Terentianus' allusiveness is presumably the reason for Victorinus' failure to provide an attribution.

it is perfectly credible that Victorinus should have been able to quote a line of Serenus not in Terentianus.

Third and more positively, the line in question is in Serenus' "modified" Faliscan, the miuric dactylic tetrameter. If Serenus *was* the first Latin poet to use this meter, then fr. 4 of Annianus must be transferred to him no less than fr. 3. Both Serenus and Annianus wrote *Falisca*, so (like the *docta Falisca* of Terentianus 1998) Victorinus' vague *Faliscorum carminum species* would fit either equally well.

I would suggest that in the next, and much needed, edition of *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* Victorinus' line should at the very least be included among the *dubia* of Serenus.

APPENDIX B

HADRIAN AND SERENUS

Historia Augusta ("Spartianus"), *V. Hadr.*, 25.9-10: *et moriens quidem hos versus fecisse dicitur*:

animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula,
nec ut soles dabis iocos.

tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et Graecos.

It is remarkable that no serious challenge to the authenticity of this extravagantly overtranslated little piece was produced before T. D. Barnes' article "Hadrian's Farewell to Life," in *CQ* (1968) 384-386. We may not feel able to agree that his arguments against are "quite conclusive" but he is certainly right to conclude that it is now "time to demand a defence of authenticity." Barry Baldwin (*CQ* [1970] 372-374) countered some of the minor but not the main points in Barnes' case and offered little to justify his promise of "sound positive reasons for accepting the poem as genuine."

According to Dio (lxix.22.4, as represented in the epitome of Xiphilinus), Hadrian died abusing his doctors. Baldwin rightly remarks that Hadrian's illness was protracted and we need not suppose that our poem represented his last gasp. It might be added that *moriens . . . fecisse dicitur* could easily be an inference from the fact that the poem so obviously looks upon death as imminent. There is no positive argument against authenticity here.

The real stumbling block is the fact that virtually all the other allegedly original poems, epigrams, and oracles quoted in the pages of the *HA* are certain or probable forgeries. Baldwin protests that "this is not a usual affectation on the part of Spartianus. In the other six biographies ascribed to him, there seem to be no examples of verses given to emperors. And the motif is not extensively used in the other biographies in the *Historia Augusta*; only three examples are apparent" (p. 373). How many times, we might ask, does a biographer have to ascribe verses of his own composition to his subjects before he begins to arouse our suspicions? In the first place, no real connoisseur of the *HA* would now feel any confidence in the traditional distribution of the *Lives* between their six supposed authors.¹ Whether or not all are the work of one man, the six names are almost certainly bogus and nothing can be built on what is held to be the practice of "Spartianus" as opposed to the other five.

Second, we are not concerned only with verses actually ascribed to emperors. There are in fact no fewer than *twenty* sets of otherwise unattested² verses either ascribed to or quoted in connection with emperors. Not counting the poem under discussion or the exchange between Hadrian and Florus (to which we shall return), there is every sign that all the other seventeen are inventions of the author (one author), set in contexts no less fictitious. Indeed (as Dessau saw long ago) the style, context, and distribution of these verses constitute in themselves a strong argument in favor of unity of authorship for the *HA* as a whole. For example, no fewer than nine (in four "different" authors) are

¹ E.g., R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968), 176 f; P. White, *JRS* (1967) 115 f; J. N. Adams, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* (1971) 14-16 and in *CQ* (1972) 186-194; Ian Marriott, *JRS* 1979, 65-77.

² All conveniently collected in Morel (153-158), except the lines attributed to Gallienus in *V. Gall.* 11. On the face of it, their appearance in the Latin Anthology (*AL* i.2.711) with two extra lines and a variant in l. 1 might seem a strong argument for authenticity. But who can believe that they come from an epithalamium for Gallienus' nephews, judged the winner over a hundred others in Latin and Greek recited for several days, and that "as some say" Gallienus was said to have kept on repeating them while holding the bridegrooms' hands? I find it easier to believe that the fuller version is an excerpt from a fuller manuscript of the *HA* (which is preserved in only one manuscript full of short lacunae — cf. the missing line in Florus' *ego nolo*). It would be an odd coincidence if *AL* and *HA* had independently chosen the same excerpt to quote. In l. 1 *HA* has *o pueri, pariter sudate medullis*, *AL* *o iuvenes et desudate medullis*; the former is surely correct, the *AL* version the result of an attempt to patch up the metre after *pariter* was accidentally omitted, *iuvenes* being substituted for *pueri* to save the elision.

said to be translations³ (usually poor ones) from an alleged Greek original; this suspicious motif of the unfavorable value judgment is found in our case (*tales . . . nec multo meliores*, cf. *V. Macr.*, 11.7, *his versibus . . . longe peioribus*).

Whether or not Barnes was justified in detecting an "almost apologetic" note in *fecisse dicitur*, no comfort is to be found in *dixisse fertur* at *V. Gall.*, 11.7 (Baldwin, p. 373), introducing a particularly obvious fraud in a ludicrous context (the same applies to the other five examples: *V. Pesc. Nig.*, 8.1, 8.3, 8.4, 8.6 *Alex. Sev.*, 38.5). It may be a formula of no significance, but then it may have been a device for parrying criticism by appearing to withhold a personal guarantee of authenticity. At all events, it is not an encouraging sign.

So far so bad. The external evidence is strongly stacked against. The case must stand or fall on literary grounds. Does the poem *look* like an authentic piece of the second-century such as Hadrian might have written?

It has long been thought that there is some connection one way or the other with fr. 16-17 of Serenus (who, as we have seen, cannot be earlier than the last half of the second century). As before I quote them in reverse order, assuming that they are consecutive lines of the same poem:

perit abit avipedis animula leporis,
animula miserula properiter obiit.

There also appears to be some connection between Serenus and fr. 19 of Laevius:

cupidius miserulo obito.

According to Barnes, "comparison of the verses attributed to Hadrian with these fragments of Serenus and Laevius strongly suggests, even if it cannot formally prove, that the correct temporal order is *miserula obito* — *animula miserula . . . obiit* — *anima vagula blandula . . . abibis*." If so, then naturally Hadrian cannot have written the lines.

But there is no trace of the elements common to Laevius and Serenus in Hadrian (if, without prejudging the case, I may so for convenience style the poem); there is no *miserulus* in Hadrian, and his *abibis* is paralleled by Serenus' *abit*, not the *obiit* he may or may not have taken from Laevius' *obito*. The question of Serenus' debt to Laevius has no bearing one way or the other on the question of his relationship to Hadrian (it would be surprising if so bookish a poet as Serenus had

³ The verses in *V. Pesc. Nig.* 8.6 absurdly enough, since 1.1 is in effect *Aen.* 1.381 (see Hohl ad loc.).

drawn on only one model in one poem: his primary model, as we have seen, was the anonymous Greek lines quoted above).

More relevant is the poem Ausonius wrote in commemoration of his aunt Veneria, *Parentalia* 27 (29):

et amita Veneria *properiter obiit*,
 cui brevia melea modifica recino
 cinis ut placidulus ab opere⁴ vigeat,
 celeripes adeat loca tacita Erebi.

properiter obiit, *celeripes/avipes*, the metrically equivalent diminutives *placidulus/miserula* and, above all, their common use of the anapaestic dimeter with full proceleusmatic resolution (vvvv)⁵ make it as certain as such things can be that Ausonius was imitating Serenus. Now the parallelism between Hadrian's *loca pallidula rigida nudula* and Ausonius' *loca tacita*, both referring to the underworld and both in poems closely related to the same poem of Serenus, licenses the conjecture that there was a similar phrase in Serenus too; that is to say, that Serenus derived it from Hadrian and Ausonius from Serenus. It would after all be a very remarkable coincidence if Serenus had omitted Hadrian's *loca* and then Ausonius thought up so similar a phrase out of his own head when imitating Serenus. Barnes' suggestion that the Hadrian poem was modeled on both Serenus (*animula* and the idea of the diminutives) and Ausonius (the *loca*) is so improbable as hardly to merit consideration; what are the chances of our forger happening to recall both Serenus and Ausonius' imitation when writing his piece? *Prima facie*, then, the "temporal order" of these three texts is: Hadrian — Serenus — Ausonius. It is easy to see how, when writing proceleusmatics, Serenus might have been reminded of the succession of short syllables in *animula vagula blandula*.

⁴ I print Peiper's *ab opere*, meaning, I take it, "by my work," i.e., that Veneria's ashes should take strength for the journey to Erebus from Ausonius' poem. "May her poor ashes rest in peace and repose from toil," Evelyn White (Loeb), but how can this be got from *vigeat*?

⁵ D. Raven, *Latin Metre* (1965) 116–117, remarks that sequences of four or more short syllables in anapaests, though "very common in Roman comedy . . . are carefully avoided in later Latin verse, though a startling exception is found in Ausonius, iv.27." In fact, of course, Ausonius was merely copying Serenus. Raven analyzes *cui* as a monosyllable, thus giving an initial dactyl, but it is always disyllabic in Ausonius, and *cui* is guaranteed in a Sapphic line at *Ephe-meris* i.15 (for other examples see the contemporary Avienus, *Arat.* 206, and already Juvenal iii.49; vii.211; Martial i.104.22; viii.52.3; xi.72.2).

From the literary point of view there can be no doubt that the address to Hadrian's soul is a far more striking and original piece of work than Serenus' poem, which, to judge from its two surviving lines and Ausonius' imitation, was (diction and meter aside) a very ordinary "Totenklage um Tiere,"⁶ a more or less whimsical lament for a dead animal. The soul of the hare hastens to Erebus much as Lesbia's sparrow is swallowed by the shades of Orcus in the most famous example of the genre.

Hadrian's poem may not be to everyone's taste but it is at least an elegant, metrically flawless piece, in a different class from the rest of the clumsy, fatuous, unmetrical doggerel forged by the author of the *HA*. Not to dwell on their only too obvious shortcomings in sense and style, contrast the following "translation" of a poem by Alexander Severus (*V. Alex.* 38.6):

pulchrum quod putas esse <vestrum> regem
vulgari miserande de fabella,
si verum putas esse non irascor . . .

an answer to a poem supposedly by someone else (*ibid.* 3) beginning:

pulchrum quod vides esse nostrum regem . . .

The *Life* of Alexander purports to be by "Capitolinus"; but compare the following, an oracle of Commagene (in Latin hendecasyllables!) quoted by "Trebellius Pollio" (*Claud.* 10.3):

tu qui nunc patrias gubernas oras . . .

Then there is *gentēs amant* in "Spartianus" (*Pesc. Nig.* 12.4, line 3, with *Ægyptiaci* in line 1). Moreover, the forger only elsewhere uses hexameters, pentameters (*κατὰ στίχον*), trochaic tetrameters (once)⁷ and the execrable hendecasyllables just illustrated. The iambic dimeters of our poem stand out from these — and are just the meter that might have been expected for a poem of the early second century. Did the forger know this? Could he have produced such lines? If so, why such rubbish for other emperors?

⁶ The title of G. Herrlinger's dissertation, Stuttgart 1930.

⁷ At least so it seems natural to restore these garbled lines: see most recently H. Fuchs, *Mus. Helv.*, 1974, 180.

I cannot share the confidence with which Baldwin finds elements in the poem that "accord with the character of Hadrian" (p. 373), but we can at least say that on metrical and stylistic grounds it seems beyond the powers of the author of the *HA* and accordingly that, since it is apparently earlier than Serenus, there seems no good reason to doubt that Hadrian did write it.⁸

It may be added that the only two other original poems in the *HA* that survive suspicion also occur in the *Life* of Hadrian, the well-known exchange between Florus (*ego nolo Caesar esse . . .*) and Hadrian (*ego nolo Florus esse . . .*) on the subject of Hadrian's travels (16.3-4). In another connection the biographer tells us that Hadrian liked to dispute with philosophers and professors through the medium of pamphlets and poems (15.11), and the Greek Anthology has preserved another example: an appeal from an unnamed grammarian together with Hadrian's reply (*Anth. Pal.* ix.137). If the *HA* can preserve one genuine poem by Hadrian it can preserve two.

To the many who had never imagined that there was any doubt about Hadrian's authorship, this discussion must seem labored if not superfluous. But it is high time that literary scholars discovered how ill-founded is most of the "literary history" of the second and especially third century that they take on trust from the *HA*.

Additional note: in *BICS* 25 (1978) 50f. Baldwin has recanted about the verses in the *HA*; and on the poem of Gellius' unnamed friend see Baldwin, *Arctos* 13 (1979) 5f.

APPENDIX C

SERENUS AND THE LATIN DICTYS

If, as suggested above, Serenus could as easily be early third as late second century (and must be so if Avitus is Severan), then we should perhaps reconsider the possibility of his identification with L. Septimius, author of the Latin translation of Dictys Cretensis.

"L. Septimius" is all that the extant manuscripts (carefully studied by W. Eisenhut for his second edition of 1973) present. But there is also a tenth-century library catalogue from Bobbio, curiously enough not even mentioned by Eisenhut, which records *libros Septimii Sereni duos, unum de ruralibus, alterum de historia Troiana, in quo et habetur*

⁸ It seems to me inconceivable, by contrast, that Hadrian could have written the unmetrical anacreontics on the horse Borysthenes still sometimes attributed to him (e.g., Duff and Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* 446).

historia Daretis.¹ This *historia Troiana* bound up with Dares (a later and cruder *jeu d'esprit* in the same vein) can only be Septimius' version of the *ephemeris belli Troiani* (the correct title, it seems, cf. Eisenhut, pp. v-vi) of Dictys.

This clear and circumstantial report has been dismissed out of hand as a self-evident absurdity, not worthy of mention, much less refutation. Why such cavalier treatment? Is the notion of a poet translating a Greek book into Latin so preposterous? And if Serenus' date is uncertain, Septimius' is altogether unknown.

The pseudonymous original,² which purported to be Neronian, was presumably in fact written in the late first or early second century. The translation cannot then be earlier than the second century, but there are no positive grounds whatever for the universal assumption that it is as late as the fourth. Four fragile arguments have been adduced.

First, style. Yet it must be emphasized that we simply do not have any comparable third-century prose to judge it by. Not that its generally clear narrative and heavily Sallustian coloring, suggestive rather of Fronto, has any very obvious fourth-century analogue. It is the sort of thing that might easily have been produced by the archaizing Septimius Serenus.

Second, the facile oversimplification, which I have more fully discussed elsewhere,³ of a fourth-century "renaissance" spearheaded by the Roman aristocracy. Any undatable late work dedicated to a Roman aristocrat is presumed fourth century rather than third.

Third, the multitude of fourth-century Aradii Rufinii to identify the dedicatee with. The favorite, for no obvious reason, is the Aradius Rufinus (no praenomen recorded) who was prefect of Rome three times between 304 and 313 and consul in 311 (so, for example, *PLRE* Rufinus 10 and A. Chastagnol, *Fastes de la Préfecture urbaine à Rome* 62). Syme gaily takes us later still ("why not to the time of Theodosius?" *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* 124), pointing to Aradius Rufinus, city prefect in 376 (*PLRE* Rufinus 11). Again, no praenomen; from this point of view at least Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus *qui et* Populonium, *praeses Byzacenae* in 321, would seem a more attractive candidate (*PLRE* Proculus 12).

¹ Schanz-Hosius, iii³, 24.

² Whose existence has now been confirmed, against earlier (and understandable) skepticism, by *P. Tebt.* 268 and *P. Oxy.* 2539 (revised text in Eisenhut 134-140).

³ In the XXIII Fondation Hardt Entretiens, *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident* (Geneva 1977) 1-30.

Yet the family can be traced back with certainty to at any rate the second decade of the third century. To mention only the earliest firm examples, a Q. Aradius Rufinus, coopted among the *sodales Augustales Claudiales* in 219, has long been known (PIR i² 1016), as has the homonymous suffect consul PIR i² 1017. A newly published inscription from Bulla Regia has now supplied more information about the man with whom they should probably, though not necessarily, both be identified, Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus (*L' Année Épigr.* 1971 (1974) 171–172, no. 490), whose active and distinguished career — two prefectures, five governorships, and a suffect consulship — will have extended from c. 219 to c. 240 (B. Rémy, *Historia* 1976, 458f.). There is no reason why this man, his father (presumably a man of some consequence), or some other kinsman of the period could not have been L. Septimius' dedicatee. And if so, then L. Septimius *could* be Septimius Serenus.

Of more substance is the title given to the governor of Crete to whom the "discovery" of the original Phoenician text of Dictys was allegedly reported under Nero: *illius insulae tunc consulari*. The governor of Crete in the early empire was a *proconsul*, not a *consularis*; on the other hand, from about the mid-fourth century *consularis* did become his normal title (*PLRE* i, 1104). Since, moreover, *consularis* as the official title of the lowest rank of senatorial governor is unquestionably a Constantinian innovation (A. Chastagnol, *Mél. J. Carcopino* [1966] 215–219; M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy of the Later Roman Empire* [1972] 56–57), *prima facie* we have a clear fourth-century anachronism.

However, the title is found in the second and third centuries, not indeed in the fourth century sense but as an unofficial abbreviation of *legatus consularis*, governor of an imperial province of consular rank, for example, *ILS* 1146 (197/8). *Cl. Claudiani cos. duarum Pannoniarum*; 2456 (3c) from Aquincum, *curante Fl. Marciano cos.* It seems to have been particularly common (significantly enough for our present concern) in Greek inscriptions: *ILS* 8824a (2c, cf. Groag, *PIR* 1², A. 1298), ὑπατικὸν Γερμανίας καὶ Βρεταννίας and 8841 (late 2c, cf. A. R. Birley, *Epigraphische Studien* [1967] 80–81), Αὔσπικος ὑπατικοῦ Βρεταννίας, Μυσίας, Δακίας, Σπανίας . . . and his father, ὑπατικοῦ Δαλματίας. See too H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974), 170.⁴

⁴ Claudius Severus, suff. 112, is described as ὑπατικός and ὑπατικός τῆς λεγιῶνος by a Greek-speaking Egyptian soldier in a private letter clearly dated to 107 (*P. Mich.* 466.25 f, 31 f), that is to say, when Severus was only a *praetorian* legate, still five years away from his eventual consulship. Unless we assume (with Syme,

Now it remains true that Crete, being a senatorial province, is not likely to have had a *legatus*, whether under Nero or in the century or so thereafter during which the Greek text was presumably written. But Greeks were notoriously uninterested in the technicalities of Roman official titles. Our second-century author may have lived in a province normally governed by a consular legate; he may have neither known nor cared what the title of the governor of Crete a century earlier was, nor need a third-century Latin translator have known much better. If he found *ὑπατικός* in his text he will naturally have translated it *consularis*. Since, moreover, in the nature of the thing all these details concerning the finding of the Phoenician "original" are bound to have been fictitious in any case (cf. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* 124-125), I cannot see that there is any firm evidence here for a fourth-century date; nothing to rule out Septimius Serenus.

The omission of the Serenus is easily explained. The extant manuscripts of the Latin Dictys offer no proper title or ascription, and as I interpret the evidence presented by Eisenhut, the dedicatory epistle to Rufinus was headed merely *L. Septimius Q. Aradio salutem*. That is to say, Septimius addressed his friend informally, using only one name of each. Some scribes added "Rufino" to the dedication from the vocative "Rufine" at the end of the epistle (p. 2.4), but for Septimius they had nothing else to go on.

It is true that nothing we know of Septimius Serenus lends any positive support to the idea that he might have translated Dictys. It would certainly have been rash to put forward the possibility as a pure conjecture. But it is not a conjecture. It rests on the unambiguous statement of a manuscript earlier than any we now possess of Dictys, a manuscript which contained, moreover, the now lost *Ruralia* of Serenus. It may be a mistake or a guess. But the onus must surely rest with those who would disregard it.

JRS [1958] 5) that the soldier, "though literate and presentable, fell into grave improprieties of title and terminology," it would appear that the meaning "governor" was established this early (Bowersock, JRS [1971] 232, 236).

THREE PIECES FROM THE "LATIN ANTHOLOGY"

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

THE poems here presented come from the "Latin Anthology" in the older and stricter sense of that term, i.e., from the collection of miscellaneous verse made in Africa after the fall of the Vandal regime in the sixth century A.D. A large part of it has been preserved in the codex Salmasianus (A), an uncial MS by a barely literate scribe perhaps in the eighth century. Some of the pieces in A are found also in other independent MSS, including Parisini 8069 (C) and 8071 (B), formerly Thuanus, as well as in the "Schedae Divionenses" (see Riese, praef. p. xxxii), derived from A with conjectural corrections.

The poems have been edited repeatedly, most recently (apart from several of the longer ones) by Emil Baehrens (*Poetae Latini Minores* IV [1882]) and Alexander Riese (second ed., I [1894]), but, as will be seen from the specimens below, a new edition has long been overdue. None of these, as far as I know, has previously been translated, except for an Italian version of the third in an edition by F. Pini (Rome, 1958). Their versification points to dates no earlier than the late third century. Some of their textual problems are discussed in my monograph *Towards a Text of Anthologia Latina* (*Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc. Suppl.* [1979]), indicated by asterisks in the apparatus criticus (see Note on Corrigenda on page 217 of this volume).

I use "edd." to mean Baehrens and Riese, though not thereby excluding their predecessors.

RIESE 21

*Sacrilegus capite puniatur. de templo Neptuni aurum
peri<i>t. interposito tempore piscator piscem aureum
posuit et titulo inscripsit "De tuo tibi, Neptune." reus
fit sacrilegii. contra dicit. <convincitur>*

<PROEMIUM>

Unde redit fulgor templis? quis inania nuper
tantis, Salsipotens, distendit limina donis?
ecce abiit damnum! splendescunt icta metallis
marmora et antiquus caedit laquearia fulgor.
pone animos laetos, quisquis testantia furtum 5
dona vides. titulis votum quod lucet opimis
gaudendum fuerat, nisi munus pauperis esset.
heu scelus et magnis nequiquam prodiga rebus
mens humilis! miseros semper quam maxima produnt!
sordidus et nigrae dudum vagus accola harenae 10
nunc aurum piscator habet gaudetque metallis.
nec satis est: donat templis, per limina figit
et titulo confessus ovat. consurgite in iram,
quis caelum, quis templa placent! modo limine in omni
supplex, maiorum portans munuscula mensis 15
vel tenuem <s>pectabat opem: nunc ditior illis
quos coluit meliorque deo est: quod perdidit ille,
hic donat. prorsus magna est iniuria Nerei:
dignus non fuerat titulis, nisi perderet aurum!
Non <unum> facinus caeso est auctore piandum: 20
multa patent, sed plura latent; scelus undique densum est.
tollere rem templis furor est temploque vicissim
rem furti donare nefas. pro dira nocentum

tit. aurum] aureum *A* periit *Riese*: ferit *A*: perit *Haupt* neptusnereus fitsalegii
contradici *A* convincitur *add.* *Haupt* post titulum prooemium *add.* *Riese*,
declamatio *Quicherat* 2 Salsipotens *scripsi*: -te *A* seq. rasura, in qua s legere
sibi visus est *Haupt*, legi posse negavit *Boissier*: -tis *Haupt* ("melius Salipotis"
Baehrens) 3 aliut *A* icta *A* (metallis = auri radiis): tecta *Quicherat*: iuncta
Petschenig: picta *coni.* *Baehrens* 4 antiqui *A* cedit *A*: cepit *Riese* 6 lucit *A*
8 numquidnamprodit *A* 9 crimina *coni.* *Riese*, male 10 sorditus *A* ma-
gus *A* 12 ficit *A* 14 limina *A* 16 spectabat *L. Mueller*: pec- *A*:
expec- *Haupt* 17 perdidit *A* 19* interrog. faciunt *edd.* 20 unum*
addidi: tantum *Haupt* 22 temploqui *A* 23 mira *coni.* *Baehrens*

I

THE FISHERMAN'S THEFT

A unique example of a declamation in verse, by an unknown author. The writers of prose declamations, such as the longer ones falsely ascribed to Quintilian, sometimes seem to be indulging in self-parody, and this piece was obviously written tongue-in-cheek. Read as burlesque, it is lively enough. The solemn parade of forensic argument, which turns out to be puerile bombast, is particularly amusing.

A is the only manuscript authority.

Let him who is guilty of sacrilege be punished by death. Gold disappeared from the temple of Neptune. After some time had elapsed, a fisherman dedicated a golden fish with the inscription: "To thee, Neptune, from thine." He is accused of sacrilege. He speaks in his defense. He is refuted.

PREFACE

Whence returns the gleam to the temple? Who, Lord of the Briny, crams thy portal, lately bare, with such a gift? Behold, the loss is no more! The marble glitters with the rays of the metal and the old-time gleam strikes the fretted roof. Lay your gladness aside, whosoever see the gift: it witnesses to a theft. The offering, radiant with its opulent inscription, would have been matter for rejoicing, were it not the gift of a poor man. Alas the crime, and the lowly mind that lavishes magnificence in vain! Big deeds ever betray paltry doers. A squalid fisherman, long a wandering dweller in the black sand, now possesses gold and rejoices in precious metal! And that is not enough. He makes gifts to temples, plants them in the portals, confesses triumphantly in an inscription. Rise in your wrath, ye who love heaven and temples! Not long ago he was a beggar at every door, bringing trifling gifts to the tables of his betters, looking for assistance no matter how slight: now he is wealthier than those he courted and better than a god — what the god lost, he dedicates. Verily a gross affront to Nereus: he would not have been worth an inscription had he not lost his gold!

The criminal must expiate his deed by death, but not one deed only. Much is plain; but more is hidden. Crime lies thick every way. To rob a temple is madness and in turn to dedicate a stolen object in a temple is mortal sin. Dire counsels of the guilty! What villain's mind would

consilia! †in scebis† quae mens excogitet istud,
 res auferre sacras et consecrare rapinas? 25
 heu similis vindicta malo! nunc ipsa pudori est
 vox mea, ne magnos laedat magis ultio divos.
 audiet haec populus nosque hoc narrabimus; ergo
 quod factum est meminisse nefas refer<e>tur in urbe.
 elusus custos raptumque altaribus aurum. 30
 mens audax scelus hoc, manus improba, perditus ardor,
 antistes victus, penetralia prodita, numen
 contemptum, templum pauper, piscator abundans.
 vos, o caelicolae, vestrum nunc invoco numen.
 sit mihi fas reticenda loqui, dum proditur iste. 35

<NARRATIO>

Natus ubi, ignotum est; neque enim de limine celso
 piscandi doctus ducit genus. improbus ergo,
 cum tantas terris dederit labor inclitus artes,
 non Chalybum massas recoquit, non doctior aeris
 ducit molle latus fulvumve intentus in aurum 40
 multiplici gemmas radiantes lumine vestit,
 non ager in voto est illi fortesque iuvenci,
 non inlex fenus, non classica, non pia Musa,
 sed spretis duro rebus placet omnibus isti
 fraus, dolus et furtum pelagi. conponitur ergo 45
 saeta nocens, fallax calamus et perfidus amus,
 principium sceleris. iam tunc †inperfidus† iste

24 consilia in scaevis! *edd., vix recte; fort. consilia! scaevi* (cf. vv. 81, 143, 193) quem *A* 26 heu*] sit *Riese*, frustra uindictā (sic) *A* 26-27 nunc . . . mea parenthesis faciunt *edd., recte iam Petschenig* 27 magis] magnis *A* 28 narrauimus *A* 29* aliter distinguunt *edd. referetur Quicherat: -ertur A: -eruntur Haupt* 31 scelus hoc suspectum: sceleris *Haupt: scelus ac Baehrens: sc- hinc Ziehen. intellegere licere puto "hoc scelus est (i.e. in hoc scelere sunt) mens audax, manus improba" sqq. (Anglice: 'this crime is a matter of a bold spirit' etc.)* 32 prodit *A* 34 nun *A* Narratio *add. Riese* 36 ubi *Quicherat: ut A* 38 ducerit *A* 39 calibū *A* 40 ductile mollit onus *Haupt, cui latus non sine causa displicuit* 43 uilex *A* 44 duro* scripsi: durū supra spretis *A: divum Haupt: duris (rectis etiam coni.) Baehrens: dudum Riese olim: diro vel diro his Ziehen placit A istud A (istud: / fraus Riese)* 46 calamus fallax *Haupt, praeter necessitatem* 47 inpfidus *A, quod vix pro valde perfidus accipere ausim: interritus Haupt: en perditus Baehrens: nam perfidus Petschenig: iam p- Riese: deperditus et male fervidus (cf. Sil. xiv.545) commentus sum*

conceive it — to make off with sacred things and to consecrate the plunder! Alack, the vengeance will be like the outrage. Now my very voice shames me, lest retribution put worse insult on the mighty gods. The people will hear it all, and I shall tell the tale; thus the deed which it is sin to remember will be bruited in the town. Watchman evaded, gold snatched from the altar: this crime involved a bold heart, a reckless hand, desperate desire, a priest overborne, a sanctuary betrayed, a deity despised, a temple beggared, a fisherman in funds. Ye dwellers on high, your deity I now invoke. Be it lawful for me to speak what should not be spoken, so long as this man be unmasked.

NARRATIVE

His birthplace is unknown. One who learned to fish is no child of a lofty mansion. Shameless wight! Glorious toil has bestowed so many crafts upon our earth, but *he* melts no iron masses nor skilfully moulds the soft slab of bronze, nor bending over tawny gold clothes radiant jewels with brightness manifold; *his* prayer is not land and strong oxen, nor enticing usury, nor yet the trumpet, nor the harmless Muse: scorning all else, the stubborn fellow loves trickery, guile, the larceny of the ocean. So up he sets the noxious line, the deceiving rod, and the treacherous hook, origin of his crime. Already preparing to rob Neptune, the

Neptunum spoliare parans petit alta profundi
 Nereo<s> et vitreo resupinos marmore campos.
 illic sollicite <per> saxa madentia saetas 50
 disponens imoque trahens animalia fundo
 serus furtivum referebat munus ad urbem.
 nigra iam san<i>e maduerunt moenia saepe,
 dum relevant populos vario commercia pisce.
 cernere erat genus omne maris, conpleret ut urbem: 55
 hinc scarus, hinc var<i>us, hinc purpura, polypus inde,
 hinc murena ardens, illinc aurata coruscans
 et cancer mordax, <t>ergo et russante locusta;
 thynnus, salpa, lagos, lupus, ostrea, sepia, mullus
 et quidquid captum faciebat copia vile. 60
 proderat hoc illi tantum ad compendia vitae,
 nec dabat ars aliud; quamvis praedives adesset
 mercatus populi, tamen hinc manus ista nocentis
 vix erat aere gravis, nedum copiosior auro.
 laudatus sane, quantum spectabat ad artem, 65
 et stulte multis dictus "Neptunius heros."
 hinc etiam adsiduus templo, dum solus ad aras,
 solus ad altare est precibusque insistere cultor
 creditur et placidos pelagi sibi poscere fluctus,
 aurum (pro facinus!), veterum donaria, priscum 70
 obsequium, antiquum munus, videt, arripit, aufert.
 quis populi gemitus, quis tunc concursus in urbe!
 quis fuit ille dies, miseri cum pendere poenas
 custodes iussi fuso de sanguine crimen
 ignotum insontes luerent facinusque negarent! 75
 heu male magnorum semper sub nomine tali
 velamen scelerum! vilis persona: quis ergo,
 despiciens hominem, tantum quis crederet umquam
 pauperis esse nefas?

48 pedit *A* 49 nereo *A* resupinus *A* 50 per *add. Haupt* saetas* *scripsi*:
 curas *A*: chordas *Maehly* 51 trahensq; *A* 53 nigra iam sanie* *scripsi*: nec
 palā sane *A*: nec paulum sanie *Haupt*: sed (*cum obelo!*) palam sane *Riese* viderunt
Petschenig 54 relevant *Petschenig*: relebat *A* populos *ex -lus A m. l* 56
 uarus *A* purporapolipus *A* 57 ardens (*ex Ov. Hal. 113*) *Haupt*: madens
A: micans *Maehly* 59 lagos *scripsi* (*cf. lagois*): lages *A*: pager *Haupt (edd.)*:
 faber *coni. Riese* 61 dispendia *Baehrens* 62 abesset *A* 63 mercator *A*
 hin *A* 64 necdū *A* auro *ex aurū A m. l* 69 placidos *ex -dus A m. l* 70
 profanus (*ci superscr.*) *A* 71 anticum *A* 74 fuso de] desufo *Haupt* 75
 necarent *A* 76 neu *A*

miscreant seeks the fathomless depths of Nereus and the glassy flats stretching beneath the sky. There he would carefully spread his lines among the streaming rocks and draw living creatures from the lowest bed and bring his stolen goods back to town. Many's the time our buildings have streamed with black gore as trade in every kind of fish relieves the people's needs. Every marine species was to be seen, enough to fill the town: here a scar, there a trout, here a purple-fish, there a polyp, here a glowing murena, there a flashing bream, and the biting crab and the red-backed lobster; tunny, skrod, braize, pike, oyster, cuttle-fish, mullet, and whatever an abundant catch made cheap. This just helped him to eke out a living; his craft yielded no more. There were wealthy folk a'marketing, true enough, but this sinner's hand hardly came off heavy with copper, much less richer with gold. To be sure, he was highly thought of so far as his craft was concerned, and many foolishly called him "Neptune's hero." And so it came about that, as he frequented the temple and stood alone by the shrines and high altar, taken the while for a devout, prayerful worshipper asking calm waters for his sea, the gold (oh villainy!), the offerings of men long gone, tribute of ancient days, gift antique — he sees it, grips it, carries it off. What an outcry was there among the folk, what a flocking together in the town! What a day was that! The luckless sacristans were told to pay the penalty. For a charge of which they knew nothing they shed their innocent blood, denying the deed. Ah, does not such a name ever cloak crimes of darkest dye? A petty person: who then, despising him, would ever have believed such an outrage to be the work of a pauper?

Volitat cum funere dives
 multorum. ne<c> scire potest sua crimina solus. 80
 hoc rursus magna statuere primordia rerum,
 quod cito tam prodit crimen quam concipit ardor.
 mens hominum facinus sine fine a<d>mitteret ullo,
 si posset celare diu. cultoris honore
 sacrilegus lucet manibusque ablata nocentis 85
 post spatium produnt crimen redeuntia dona.

EXCESSUS

Huc, huc tergemino letali<a> fulmina telo,
 Iuppiter undarum, valido, Neptune, tridenti
 concutiens maria alta iace pontoque verendus
 litoreas transcende moras! stet turbidus axis 90
 nubibus et zephyris fundo revolutus ab imo
 gurges inexpletum feriat vada marmore cano.
 piscator s<c>aevus meritum confundit utrimque:
 stat post furta pius, templis tu<a> munera reddens,
 et post dona reus. pro fluctus summa potestas! 95
 bis tibi calcato facta est iniuria caelo:
 cum tua sacrilegus rapere<t> donaria templo,
 contemptus fueras; iam nunc obnoxius esse
 coepisti, ablatum post<quam> tibi reddidit aurum. 100

<PROBATIO>

"Ars" inquit "studiumque dedit mihi, non scelus, aurum."
 verum est? Eoos etenim mercator adisti
 et repetis patriam longo post tempore dives!
 scilicet his manibus viduatos cernimus esse
 ture Arabas, Persen gemmis et vellere Seres,
 dente Indos, ferro Chalybes et murice Poenos! 105
 non pudet hanc artem, scelerum <iam>, dicere, princeps?

81 rursus] *pror-Quicherat* magnaest .aduerse *A* exordia scribi potuit 82 tam
 cito quod *coni. Baehrens* 84 celaret *A* 87 letali. fulmine *A* 89 e
 pontoque *Haupt* 90 transcende (*n superscr.*) remoras *A* 92 inexplic-
 itum *A* 93 piscatur seuus *A* utrumq; *A* 94 tua *Quicherat*: tu *A* dum
 munera reddit *Haupt* 95 pro fluctus summa* *scripsi*: prost uilissima *A*: pro
 vilis summa *Haupt A* 99 pottibireddedit *A* Probatio hic *addidi*, post v.116
Riese vv. 100-106 ante v. 215 collocandos esse suspicatus est *Riese* 101 esteo.
 adsit enim *A* 104 arabos *A* euellere *A* 105 calipes *A* 106 iam
addidi: te *Haupt*

He circulates, a rich man at cost of many deaths. Nor can he bear the sole knowledge of his crimes. This also has been decreed by the great elements of the universe: desire reveals wrongdoing as quickly as it conceives the same. The heart of man would commit wickedness without limit if capable of concealing it for long. The doer of sacrilege shines in the fair guise of a devotee and the gifts which guilty hands bore away return after a season to reveal the felony.

DIGRESSION

Hither, oh hither cast thy fatal triple-darted thunderbolts, Jove of the waves, shaking the deep seas with mighty trident, Neptune, and in awesome guise o'erleap with ocean the barriers of the shore! Let the sky stand turbid with clouds and the waters, churned by western winds from their uttermost depth, smite the shallows insatiably with their white surface. A villainous fisherman confounds desert on either part: after theft he stands forth a god-fearing man, returning thy gift to its temple; and after dedication he stands accused. Oh supreme power of the main! Twice hast thou been offended and heaven trampled under foot. When the miscreant snatched thine offering from the temple, thou wast set at naught; now that he has returned the stolen gold, thou hast begun to owe a debt of gratitude.

PROOF

"My craft" says he "and my calling, not crime, gave me gold." Is that a fact? Oh yes, you went out east to trade and a great time later come back to your country a rich man! These hands, to be sure, have beggared Arabia of incense, Persia of jewels, China of silk, India of ivory, the Chalybes of iron, and the Phoenicians of purple dye! Are you not ashamed to speak of this craft, master-criminal as you now are?

remus, cumba, fretum, gurgēs, notus, ancora, lembus,
 arca, amus, pumex, conchae, vada, litus, harena,
 co<n>tus, saeta, salum, calamus, †notae†, retia, suber:
 hic labor, haec ars est, hinc fulvum colligis aurum. 110

mercator madidus, parvae stipis actor, ad aurum
 ut venias, <iam> scire velim; quem quando patronus
 maximus antiquo donavit tegmine vestis,
 mensibus ignorant maria intermissa clientem.

"Quis me" inquit "tantum facinus committere vidit?" 115
 hoc bene habet; haec vox mihi <iam> confessio pura est.

nunc ergo incipiam crimen sic pandere veris
 ut visum te, scaeve, putes. ergo omnis ad istud
 huc ades, <o> iudex, facinus. signantia rebus
 argumenta feram, magno quae saep̄ta nig<r>ore 120
 interdum visus fallunt, <s>ed crimina produnt.

Omne equidem furtum, dirus quod concipit ardor,
 his, nisi nunc fallor, rebus constare necesse est:
 an locus admittat facinus conplerier an non,
 an valeat persona nefas committere tantum. 125
 singula si excutimus, casurum est crimen in ipsum.
 ergo, ut distinctum est, videamus ab ordine primo
 an locus admittat facinus conplerier an non.

Templum est unde istud sublatum dicimus aurum
 (maxima res, venerandus honos, custodia nulla), 130
 quod mane expansis foribus vix vespere nigro
 stridula cardinibus claudit antica retortis.
 hoc patet adsidue luce omnibus, utpote quisque
 influxit, precibus nec fas est claudere postes.
 ingressos nulla observat custodia, nulla 135
 egressos, licet <et> semper decurrere ad aras

107 fretum *ex* -us *A m.* l pumes concēuata *A* 109 salum] *vix sanum*; anne
 cibus? notē *A*: mola *Haupt*: rota *Quicherat* 110 hinc] hic *A* 111 auctor *A*
 112 iam scire *Baehrens*: sc- *A*: resc- *Haupt*: id sc- *Riese* 113 donarit *A*
 116 vox haec *Haupt*, sine causa iam add. *idem* 117 verbis *Riese*: ueris *A*:
 vere *Baehrens* 118 putes *Nipperdey*: potis *A* ad *Baehrens*: sub *A*: ob *Haupt*
 119 o add. *Haupt* 120 magnoq; *A* nigrore *scripsi*: uigore *A* 121 sed
scripsi: et *A* 125 adnualead *A* 130 *parenthesinfeci* post res* (= divitiae)
plenius dist. edd. 131 expansis *scripsi*: in pactis *A* 132 claudunt *Haupt*
 antiqua *A* 133 adsidue luce *scripsi*, auctoribus *Hauptio* (-ue) et *Baehrensio* (-va
 luce): -uae licet *A*: -ue, patet *Riese* utpute *A* 134 influxit *scripsi*: infixit
A: insistat *Haupt* (-tit *Riese*) *Hic distinxi*: post precibus *edd.* 135 nulla
 observat* *Maehly*: nullos servat *A* (*edd.*) 136 egressis *ex* -sos *A m.* l de-
 currere *scripsi*: disc- *A*

Oar, boat, channel, eddy, south wind, anchor, skiff, bark, hook, pumice, shells, shoals, shore, sand, boat-hook, line, bait (?), rod, wheel (?), nets, cork: this your toil, this your craft, from this you gather yellow gold! A dripping trafficker, a collector of coppers, how do you come by gold, I should like to know? When your greatest patron presents you with an old cloak to put on your back, the seas are given a rest and for months see nothing of — the client.

"Who saw me commit so heinous an act?" he says. Good! In these words I now have a straight confession. So I shall proceed to set out the charge in such a form that you shall think you *were* seen in the act, you villain. Come along, members of the jury, all of you attend to this wicked deed. I shall bring concrete arguments based on facts, arguments encompassed by thick darkness, which sometimes elude vision, but reveal crimes.

Every theft that dire desire conceives, must, unless I am mistaken on this point, consist in the following: whether the *place* permits the deed to be carried through or not; whether the *person* has the power to commit such wickedness. If we examine the points one by one, the guilt will fall on the defendant. Therefore, according to my disposition let us begin at the beginning and see whether the *place* permits the deed to be carried through or not.

The place from which we say that gold was filched is a temple — very wealthy, very holy, quite unguarded. At dawn the entrance is opened wide; late in the evening dusk the portal creaks back on its hinges to close the building. By day it is always open to all comers, as each streams in, nor is it lawful to close the doors to prayer. No watch notes those who enter, nor yet those who leave; and all are ever free to run to the altars

omnibus et simulacra modis contingere †miris†.
 dona etiam veterum populorum, insignia regum,
 et laudare licet cunctis et tangere fas est.
 ianitor hinc longe est primoque in limine custos. 140
 ipse etiam interdum penitus discedit ab aris
 antistes metuitque precantibus arbiter esse.
 hinc facilis causa scelerum facilisque malorum.
 nullus custodit templum, quia creditur aras
 caelicolum servare timor. patet omnibus ergo. 145

EXEMPLUM

Sic Phrygiae spes sola perit, dum milite lecto
 Palladii numen servantibus undique Teucris
 ingressus templum furtim non creditur hostis;
 et licet Iliacus flammam Vestamque calentem
 hoc metuens Pri<a>mus muris vallasset et armis, 150
 dum tamen ingressos fas qui sint poscere non est,
 invisum e templis antistes fugit Ulixen.
 non mirum est ergo quod nos sic perfidus iste
 decepit, templis numquam suspectus et aris,
 sicut Pergameas caesis custodibus aras 155
 audax, ut numen raperet, penetravit Achivus.

<PROBATIO>

Nunc, quoniam cunctis manifestum cernimus esse
 ad causam scelerum templum patuisse rapinis,
 quod sequitur, certo tractandum examine rerum est
 an valeat persona nefas committere tantum. 160
 quid metuat pauper? neque enim est iam dives habendus
 et cum dona ferat; quamvis maria alta peragret
 perditus et templis furtivum congreget aurum,
 pauper erit, cui nullus honos, cui gratia nulla,
 non clarus genitor, non noto semine mater. 165

137 multis* conieci: cuius Riese, olim 138 donā A 139 lustrare Maehly
 141 dissedit A 145 patet Iurretus: petit A 147 nomen A 149 Iliacus
 Quicherat: illiacos A: Iliados (sc. Minervae!) Haupt 149 calentem scripsi:
 rege- A (cf. Luc. 2.126 te quoque neglectum violatae, Scaevola, Vestae | ante ipsum
 penetrare deae semperque calentis | mactavere focos; Virg. Georg. 4.384 ardentem
 perfudit nectare Vestam (i.e. focum)) 152 e]me A 154 decipit A
 156 num. eraperet A Probatio add. Riese 158 rapuisse A 163 con-
 gregit A 164 honus A

for succor and to touch the images in divers (?) ways. Even the offerings of ancient nations, the shining gifts of kings, may be praised by everyone and touched without offence. The janitor is far away, the watchman is at the entrance. The priest himself sometimes goes apart from the altars and retires within, fearing to spy on those at prayer. Hence easy occasion for crimes and calamities. Nobody guards the temple, because fear of the gods is supposed to keep their altars safe. So it stands open to all.

ILLUSTRATION

Even so the sole hope of Phrygia perished. While the Teucrians guarded the holy Palladium at every point with picked troops, an enemy entered the temple by stealth, and nobody believed it. And although Ilian Priam, this fearing, had surrounded the flame and the glowing hearth with walls and arms, yet, since it was unlawful to ask entrants who they were, the priest fled out of the fane before hated Ulysses. It is no wonder then that this knave so deceived us, and temple and altars never suspected him, just as the bold Greek slew the watchmen and got through to the altars of Pergamum to snatch the deity.

PROOF

Now, since we see it is plain to all and sundry that the temple was exposed to robberies and provided occasion for crimes, our next task is to examine by sure evaluation of facts whether the *person* has the power to commit such wickedness. What would a pauper have to fear? Ay, not even now should he be reckoned rich, even when he bears gifts. Though the ruffian range the deep seas and amass stolen gold in temples, he will remain a pauper, having no respect, no influence, no famous father, no mother of known stock. He trembles forsooth lest he bring

scilicet horrescit prisco ne nomine avorum
 dedeceat fasces, miser undique, solus ubique!
 an non hoc genus est cuius de examine multo
 quisquis honoratos respexit forte parentis
 ob meritum fulgere viros, mox improbus, audax, 170
 fortunam incusans et tetro lividus ore
 pauperiem monstrat superis ac pectore laevo
 dira quiritalis fundit convicia caelo?
 pauperis omne nefas facile: scelus aptus ad omne,
 in pretium pronus, despectu numinis audax, 175
 vilis, inops, scaevus, turpis, temerarius, ardens,
 perditus, abiectus, maledictus, sordidus, amens.
 an non sunt isti quorum de nomine multi,
 ducere concessis dum nolunt artibus aevum,
 caedibus infamant silvas et crimine cauto 180
 insidias tendunt domibus gregibusque rapinas,
 aut, quibus <h>aut ulla est caro de sanguine cura,
 pactas corporibus vendunt in proelia mortes?
 an vobis mirum est furtum quod fecerit ille
 sanguinis et vitae pretium cui extinguet honorem? 185
 Nunc age, si veris tractavimus undique causis
 pauperis esse nefas quidquid peccatur in orbe,
 quod superest, positis iam rebus ab ordine primo
 index an sceleris sit raptō<r et ipse> videndum est.

<EXCESSUS>

Neptuni e templo votivum perdimus aurum. 190
 heu male cum diris altaria iuncta metallis!
 qui primus templis aurum dedit omine diro,

166 prisco ne* *Riese* in *addendis* vol. II: -os ne *A* (*Baehrens*): -o sine *Quicherat* (*Riese*) 167 dedeceat* *scripsi* (*indeceat fort. debui*): incedat in *A*: incidit in *Quicherat* (-dat in *iam Haupt*): ne cedat in *Maehly*: infamet *Baehrens*, *sententiam saltem adsecutus* 169 honoratus *A* parentis* *scripsi*: -tes *A*: potentes *edd.* 173 diraq; ritatus *A* 174 captus adonē *A* post facile *distinxi*: post nefas *vulg.* 175 pretiū *ex -io A m. 1* despectus *A* 176 iners *Baehrens** 177 maledictor *Haupt* sorditus *A* 178 numine *A* 179 concessis *apographon Leidense*: -ssum *A* 182 aut* *scripsi*: in *A* 183 pastas *A* corporibus* *scripsi*: temp-*A* uindunt *A* prēlia *A*: praemia *Haupt* 185 qui *A* extinguet *scripsi*: -get *A*: -guit *edd.* 186 age *Baehrens*: quoq; *A* 187 urbe *A* 189 index an *scripsi* (*cf. 232 sq.*): anuindex *A* et ipse *add. Baehrens* 192 primistempli *A* omine (*sic*) duro *A*

discredit on the Consulships of ancestors of ancient name, he, miserable in every sense, alone in every place! We know his kind, do we not? Should any one of that great swarm see persons respected and illustrious on account of a forbear's deserving, shamelessly and boldly he upbraids fortune and with grim, green countenance holds up his poverty to the gods and in the perversity of his heart pours out abuse and dire complaint to heaven. Every sin comes easy to the pauper: apt to every crime, bold in contempt of deity, vile, resourceless, villainous, base, rash, covetous, desperate, abject, accursed, squalid, mad. Is not this the clan from which come many, who, loth to spend their lives in lawful occupations, make forests infamous with their murders or in cautious crime plot burglaries and cattle-stealings; or else, holding their dear blood cheap, they bargain with their bodies and sell their deaths to make bouts. Do you wonder if a man who will sink regard of blood and life for money has committed a theft?

Well then, if I have maintained with true arguments drawn from every source that every wrongdoing in the world is perpetrated by the poor, let us come to what remains. I must now set out the facts from the beginning and see whether the plunderer has informed against his own crime.

DIGRESSION

We have lost votive gold from a temple. Pity it is that altars were ever brought into contact with the sinister metal! Whoever first gave ill-

is causa scelerum primus fuit. omne paratas
 in facinus mentes hominum succendier auro
 non scierat? rectis semper contraria rebus 195
 fulva metallorum est rabies. haec proelia miscet,
 haec castos verdit thalamos, haec polluit aras.
 mille nocendi artes. volumus si visere priscos,
 dicite quod facinus commissum non sit ob aurum.
 auro ardet Glauce, Danae corrumpitur auro, 200
 auro emitur Pluton, Phlegethon transcenditur auro,
 proditur Amphiaras atque Hector venditur auro;
 hoc Medea maga est, serpens vigil, exul Iason;
 hoc Mida ieiunus, Paris altus, naufraga Helle,
 [hoc †sapiens furia†, Venus invida, Iuno cruenta] 205
 Hippomenes cursu velox, hoc tarda Atalante est.
 aurum quod nigris Pactolus miscet harenis,
 quod condit †faeinus†, tristis quod celat Avernus,
 quod ferrum intundit, liquidum quod conficit ignis,
 quod furor exposcit demens ad proelia saeva, 210
 quod raptum querit<ur> coluber, quod Punica virgo
 amissum plangit, Tyria damnandus in aula
 Pygmalion caeso quod perdit fraude Sychaeo,
 quod tutum nec templa tenent nec pauperis ardor.

⟨REFUTATIO⟩

["Qui raperet, donum templis non redderet" inquit.] 215
 sentio quas nobis subrepto praeparet auro
 callidus ambages. templorum abscondere furem
 cultoris temptat donis et divite censu
 pauperiem foedam, scelerum causamque malorum,
 excusat largus. nos autem insistimus inde. 220
 hoc ideo factum est ut crimen frangere possis.

193 omnes *A* 196 facies *Maehly* 197 uindit *A*: an vertit? 200 claudicane
A 201 ploton. flegeton *A* 202 atque] et *Haupt*: anne auro? 204 ultus *edd.*,
perperam naufraga Helle *coni. Riese*: -gus helles *A*: -ga es (*vel* -gaque) Helle *coni.*
Haupt (-ga's *L. Mueller*): -ga Hellest *Baehrens* 205 *versum ineptum ad Discor-*
diae malum spectantem sed deas humanis exemplis moleste impingentem seclusi hoc
 Pallas furia est *Haupt* inuita *A* 207 anne aurum est? pactolus ex -tulū *A m. l*
 208 feinus *A*: varia coniecta, velut Hermus (*Baehrens*), tellus (*Riese*) 209 li-
 quidum* *scripsi*: -dus *A* 210 ad *scripsi*, ad gladiatores vel milites conductos
referens: quod *A* seua *A*: versat *coni. Riese* 211 querit *A* 212 tyrie *A*
Refutatio add. Riese 215 *versum* (*cf. v. 243*) *seclusi*, quo retento versibus 227-229
quid faciam non reperio 221 posses *Haupt*

omened gold to temples, he first became the cause of crimes. Knew he not that men's minds, game for every wickedness, are kindled by gold? The yellow rage for the metal is ever the enemy of good order. This joins battles, barter chaste wedding-chambers, profanes altars. Gold has a thousand devices to work harm. If we care to look at the men of long ago, say what evil deed was not the work of gold. Glaucus burns with gold, Danaë is seduced with gold, Amphiaras is betrayed and Hector sold for gold. Through gold Medea is a witch, the serpent wakeful, Jason an exile. Through gold Midas is hungry, Paris reared,¹ Helle shipwrecked. Through gold Hippomenes runs swift, Atalanta slow. It is gold that Pactolus churns with his black sands, * buries, gloomy Avernus hides; gold that iron beats, fire melts liquid. The snake complains of its theft,² the Phoenician girl³ bewails its disappearance, guilty Pygmalion in his Tyrian palace lost it by guile after he slew Sychaeus. Neither temples nor poor man's greed keeps it safe.

REBUTTAL

I know what sophistries the crafty gold-stealer is preparing for us. He tries to hide the robber of temples with the gifts of a worshipper and with his riches excuses in his lavishness foul poverty, cause of crimes and calamities. But *we* press from that very angle: this was done to enable you to defeat the charge. Hence too the clever trick you thought of,

¹ I.e., his foster-parents were paid by Hecuba: see *Towards a Text*, etc. ad loc.

² In the garden of the Hesperides.

³ Presumably the sisters in the garden, in which case Phoenician = Carthaginian = African. Or is the allusion to Dido?

hinc etiam est illud docto quod concipis astu,
 squamigerum in piscem raptum vertatur ut aurum,
 ut titulum inscribas: "tibi nunc, <rex> alme profundi,
 quod dedimus, Neptune, tuum est." pulchre omnia, pulchre 225
 dissimulas, sed vera patent. iam frangere votum est
 hoc quoque, quod longo meditatum tempore profers,
 argumentum ingens: "templis non redderet aurum
 qui tulerat." macte, scelerum doctissime rhetor,
 verborum auxiliis subverso crimine rerum! 230
 reddere te donum deus inpulit, inpulit angor,
 inpulit et scelerum mens conscia, conpulit index
 furtorum semper timor anxius atraque mentis
 tristities pallensque metus resecansque medullas
 post causam raptus trepidis penitudo secunda. 235
 haec scaevos vexant. non sunt, mihi credite, non sunt
 Eumenides dirae, fallax quas fabula narrat
 Cocyti in gremio rapidi, Phlegethontis ad ignes
 Tartarei, cinctas facibus, serpente, flagellis,
 sed metus et facinus, et mens est conscia pravi. 240
 Ni fallor, victum est, magno quod protulit astu.
 sed superest pars magna mihi de crimine vero.
 "qui raperet, totum templis non redderet." ergo
 hoc quoque sic vincam verum fatearis ut ipse.
 sustuleras tu plus. partiris, perfide, furtum, 245
 non totum reddis; superavit copia mentem.

<EXCESSUS>

Nunc, quoniam manifesta fides gradibusque malorum
 hinc illi<n>c lucent conlatis crimina rebus,
 officium invadam, valeant ut cernere cuncti
 piscandi doctis semper nil nequius esse. 250
 hic taceam audaces ducit quod pallida semper
 in scelus omne fames secretaque crimina cogunt.

222 conspicis *A* 224 rex *scripsi*: salis *A* profunde *A* 226 patientia. fran-
 gere *A* 229 tullerat *A* retor *A* 230 subverso *Maehly*: sub certo *A*
 231 angor *Maehly*: ardor *A*, *edd.* 234 metus (*sic*) resecanq; *A* 238 flege-
 tontis *A* 239 tartareu *A* 240 medus *A* et corruptum esse statuit *Riese*, sine
 causa etnens est *scripsi*: m- est et *A*: sed (set) m- est *Baehrens* (*Riese*) 243 to-
 tum] donum *A* 245 sustuleras tu plus* *Håkanson*, ex commento meo plus tuleras:
 templis: sustulleras templis *A* 246 mentem*] votum *coni. Riese*, alii alia,
 frustra 248 Excessus *addidi* 251 taciā *A* quod *Riese*: quos *A*
 252 crimina *scripsi*: litora (*sic*) *A* (*cf. vv. 255, 259*)

to turn the stolen gold into scaly fish, so that you could write an inscription: "What now I have given to thee, Neptune, bountiful King of the Deep, is thine." Fine dissembling, all very fine, but the truth is plain. Now it is my hope to demolish this other mighty argument, which you bring forward after prolonged cogitation: "He who had taken the gold from the temple would not return it." Bravo, most skillful rhetorician of crime! You have turned factual guilt upside down by aid of words. The god drove you to return the offering, suffering drove you, a guilty conscience drove you; uneasy apprehension, which ever informs on thefts, compelled you, and black misery of mind, and pallid fear, and remorse, aftermath of rapine, that cuts open the trembling wretch's inmost heart. These harass villains. The dread Furies, which lying fable tells of in the bosom of rushing Cocytus beside the flames of Tartarean Phlegethon, girt with firebrands, snakes, and whips, believe me, they do not exist; fear exists and the bad deed and the mind conscious of evil.

Unless I am mistaken, the argument which he produced so craftily has been defeated. But I have still to deal with an important part of the true charge. "A thief would not return the entire amount to the temple." Very well, I shall defeat this too, so that you yourself confess the truth. You had stolen more! You knave, you are dividing the loot, not returning all of it. The quantity overcame your purpose.

DIGRESSION

Since the proof is plain and the charges shine clear, by comparison with the facts from this side and that in progress from evil to evil, I shall now assault his office, so all may perceive that men skilled in fishing are the naughtiest of mortals. Here let me say nothing of the fact that pallid hunger ever drives those bold ones into every crime, that secret guilt

hoc loquor: infaustis levior cum scanditur alnus,
 quid faciant remo celeri lemboque volanti
 excussum ventis pelagus cum litora frangit? 255
 naufragium expectant. sidit cum rapta sub unda<s>
 puppis, submersi fundo scrutantur harenas.
 at cum lassatus portum vix navita vidit,
 furta parant missosque secant in litora funes.
 o scelerum auctores, tetro et cum crimine ponti 260
 cladum participes et tempestatis amici!
 haec quoque, si excutitur, quam magni criminis ars est!
 non scelus est un<c>o piscem quod fallitis amo,
 quod placidas subter lina intertextitis undas?
 piscibus adsuetis fallaces tendere morsus 265
 Neptuni pulchrum visum est non parcere templis.

EPILOGUS

Iam satis haec. factis <mea> vox inpena nefandis
 piscantis facinus cecinit versuque coegit
 aurum, templa, nefas, titulos, epigrammata, munus.
 supplicium restat scelerum, quod reddere debet 270
 iudex, horrendo tollens tortore securim.
 dicite, quos ius est examina figere causis,
 dicite iam poenas mandatas legibus almis.
 vos quoque, quis ferro mortale<s> caedere fas est,
 cum iam damnati iugulos ac colla petetis, 275
 ne campis patriaeque loco nec caedite iuxta,
 deprecor. ad nigras ducatur vinctus harenas,
 ultima despumans pelagus qua litora lambit.
 hic iaceat medius ponto terrisque nefandus;
 et cum sollicitum ventis mare tollitur alte, 280
 destruat unda rogum rapiantque animalia corpus.
 hic tamen expositis tumulos componite membris
 et titulum facit<e> et versu hoc includite carmen:
 "piscibus hic vixit, deprensus piscibus hic est,
 piscibus occubuit. spes, crimen, poena sub uno est." 285

254 volanti scripsi: -tes A 255 plangit Petschenig 256 sidit Baehrens:
 sedit A 259 scantinlitore A 260 nauctores A 263 fallidisceno A
 epilogi A ("fort. transponendum post v. 246" Riese) 267 factis Iuretus:
 functis A: furtis Baehrens anne infensa? 268 uersusq; A 272 quos
 Riese: quod A: quis Haupt 275 petistis A 276 ne credite; iusta Quicherat
 cedite A 277 unctus A 280 sollicitus ex -tum A m. 1 282 exesis
 Baehrens adponite Haupt 285 occupuit spes. crimencrimepena A

compels them. This I do say: when unlucky fellows climb into a flimsy bark, what use is swift oar and fleet cutter to them when the ocean is stirred up by the winds and smashes the beaches? They expect shipwreck. When the vessel sinks, snatched beneath the waves, submerged at the bottom they scrutinize the sands. Contrarywise, when the weary sailor manages to make harbor, the fishermen prepare for theft and cut the cables stretched to shore. Oh you criminals, partners in disaster with the sea's foul offense, friends of the tempest! This craft too, when we examine it, what a wicked craft it is! Is it no crime to deceive a fish with curving hook, to weave nets beneath calm waters? Folk accustomed to hold out treacherous morsels to fish think it a fine thing not to spare Neptune's temples.

EPILOGUE

Enough. My voice, raised against acts of impiety, has sung the fisherman's bad deed, bringing gold, temple, sin, inscription, epigraph, gift into meter. There remains the punishment of crime, which members of the jury should meet out, lifting the axe in the hands of the dread executioner. You, whose duty it is to make assessment of causes, tell now the penalties ordained by beneficent laws. You too, for whom it be no sin to slay mortals with steel, when he is condemned and you seek his throat and neck, despatch him not, I beg you, on dry land in our country, near at hand. Let him be taken in bonds to the black sands, where foaming ocean licks the margin of the shore. Here let the sinner lie betwixt water and land; and when winds vex the sea and it rises high, let a breaker destroy the grave and living creatures snatch away the corpse. However, set a mound here over his uncovered limbs and make an inscription, putting into verse this legend:

By fish he lived, by fish was caught, by fish is dead:
Hope, crime, and punishment under a single head.

RIESE 83

〈EPISTOLA DIDONIS AD AENEAM〉

PRAEFATIO

Sic tua semper ames, quisquis pia vota requiris,
 nostra libenter <h>abe. quid carminis otia ludant,
 cerne bonus mentisque fidem probus indue iudex.
 dulce sonat quod cantat amor. cui grata voluntas
 esse potest, modicum dignetur amare poetam. 5

CARMEN

Debuit ingrato nullam dictare salutem
 laesus amor. sed nulla iuvant convicia flentem —
 si modo flere vacet; nam me magis, inprobe, mortis
 fata vocant. Troiane nocens, haec dona remittis?
 Quamvis saepe gravi conponam carmine fletus, 10
 plus habet ipse dolor; nec conplent verba dolorem,
 quem sensus patientis habet. †vel regnat† requiro
 quae maledicta dedi miseri<s> circumdata fatis.
 fervit amore dolor, cassum dolor auget amorem.
 dum studet iratas calamus celerare querellas, 15
 continuit dolor ipse manum, nec plura loquentem
 passus amor mentisque vias et verba ligavit.
 a quotiens revocata manus dubitansque pependit
 quid factura fuit trepidanti pollice! dextram
 torpor et ora ligat. dum dura vocabula format 20
 et minus explicitam commendat littera vocem,
 torsit iter male tractus apex dubiaque remissus

titulum om. A 3 induere *Baehrens*: incole A vv. 4 et 6 habet C 4 grata
 C: -tia A uoluntas (sc. quam solam modicus poeta praestare valet) C: -uptas A
 (vulg.) 5 amore *sched.* 6 dictare A: mandare C 8 inprobe *Riese*:
 -ba A 10 graves *Higtius* anne carmina fletu? 11 habet] valet *Higtius*
 12 vertenda *Riese*, neque meliora priores: fort. repetenda vel geminanda 14 fer-
 vit *scripsi*: pendit A: pendet *vulg.* dolor *Hoeufftius* domus A cassum *Riese*:
 castus A: clausus *Hoeufftius*: vastus *Baehrens* augit A 15 celerare *Higtius*:
 collorare A 16 manu A 17 mentisque *Higtius*: merit- A 18* post
 pependit *exclamationis notam ponunt edd.* dubitansque *Maehly*: dubiūq; A
 19 anne quod? 20 ora *con.* *Riese*: ira A post ligat puncto *distinxi* format
Schrader: fir- A 21 comendat (sc. chartae) A: condemnat *Schrader* (edd.)
 post vocem (-e A) plenius interpungunt edd. 22 remissos A

II

LETTER OF DIDO TO AENEAS

Despite its epistolary form this composition is closer than the preceding to typical declamatory style, full of conceits and epigrammatic to the point of obscurity. The author's description of himself as *modicus poeta* will hardly be challenged; but it is not his fault that much of what stands in his text, as edited by Riese and his predecessors, is arrant nonsense.

A is the only authority, except that vv. 4 and 6 are also in C.

PREFACE

You, whoever you are, that need kindly prayers, welcome my work; so may you always love your own. Look favorably at the song, amusement of leisure, and assume the integrity of an honest judge. Sweetly sounds the chant of love. Let him who can be pleased by good intentions deign to love a mediocre poet.

POEM

Wronged love should send no greeting to an ingrate. But reproaches avail not the weeper — if only there be time to weep. For rather, oh reprobate, death's doom's a'calling me. Guilty Trojan, are these the gifts with which you make return?

Though with doleful song I oft put tears aside, very grief has more. Nor do words fill the measure of the grief the sufferer feels. I need anew (?) the curses I pronounced when unhappy fate beset me. Grief is fired by love, grief increases fruitless love. Even as my pen strives to hasten angry complaints, very grief has checked my hand. Suffering me not to say more, love has chained the movements of my mind and my words. How many times my hand was recalled and hung with quivering fingers, uncertain what it was to do! Numbness binds hand and lips. Even as writing forms hard words and commends utterance unclear, the ill-traced letters have changed course; and while shame doubtfully relaxed

mente pudor dum verba notat, dum nomina mandat,
 flamma nocens i<te>rata redit, penitusque cucurrit
 sopitus per membra calor diroque medullas 25
 igne vorat. nullus confessam culpet amantem.

Conubium nunc crimen erit? male credula votis
 cuncta dedi (nec mira fide<s>) sub lege mariti,
 cuius et ipsa fui; numquam nec conscia reddent
 vota fidem, si talis erit non digna marito. 30
 hanc reddis, Troiane, vicem? meus ista meretur
 affectus? non ille torus, non conscia lecti
 sacramenta te<ne>nt? totum quo crimine perdo
 quidquid amore dedi? fatis licet, inprobe, tendas
 aemula regna meis, nihil est quod, perfide, iactes: 35
 fraude perit, non sorte, fides. sed regna petebas
 debita nec rerum poteras pervincere sortem:
 si datur ire, placet; nam quod fugis unde receptus,
 vota nocentis habes. nihil est quod vana querellis
 verba fidemque voco; quisquis mea vulnera deflet, 40
 invidiam fecisse neget. tra<h>i<t> omnia casus,
 nec sortem natura capit.

Sua taedia solus
 fallere nescit amor. reparatum Cynthia format
 lucis honore iubar curvatis cornibus arcus,
 quod de fratre rubet. cessurus lege sorori 45
 consumit sua iura dies. sic continet orbem,
 dum recipit natura vicem.

Sua taedia solus
 fallere nescit amor. mersum pallentibus umbris
 circumdat nox atra diem fruiturque tenebris

24 iterata redit* *Petschenig*: irata redens *A*: alia frustra alii 25 diroque
Baehrens: dur- *A* 26 vorat *Burman*: fo- *A* confessam *idem*: -ssus *A*
 27 tunc *sched.*: non *Maehly* erit *Baehrens*: erat *A* 28 fides *Higtius*: -e *A*
 31 ista *sched.*: iste *A* 33 tenent *sched.*: tent *A* quo* *scripsi*: pro *A* (totum,
 pro, crimine *Maehly*) perdo *Higtius*: -di *A* 34 quidquid] quid *A* (quid
superscr. m. antiqua) 37 rerum] mecum *Riese* pervincere* *scripsi*: conu- *A*:
 deu- *Maehly*: convertere *Baehrens*: coniungere *Riese* 38 nam] anne nunc?
 quod *A*: quo *sched.* receptus* *scripsi*: recursus *A* 39 vana* *scripsi*: dura *A*
 41 neget *Schrader*: necaŋt *A* 42 nec* *scripsi*: dum *A* sorte *A* capit
Petschenig: ra- *A* 41-43 casus. dum . . . rapit, sua . . . amor *vulg. ceterum illa*
 trahit . . . capit *melius abessent* 43 reparato *Baehrens* Cynthia *Salmasius*:
 quintia *A* 44 arcus *suspectum*: ardens *Maehly*: altum *Baehrens* 45 quod]
 quom *Higtius* 49 tenebris *sched.*: -ras *A*: -rans *Baehrens*

inscribes words and sets down names, the guilty fire comes back anew, the dormant heat runs deep down through my limbs and its dire flame devours my marrow. Let none blame a woman who confesses her love.

Shall marriage become a sin? Unwisely trusting his vows, I gave away my all (no wonder to believe) under my husband's law, to whom myself belonged. Nor ever shall mutual vows carry faithful fulfilment, if faith such as mine shall seem unworthy to my husband. Is this the return you make, man of Troy? This what my affection deserves? The pillow, the mutual sacrament of the bed, do they not hold you? For what offense do I lose all that for love I gave? Reprobate, you may proffer the excuse of a kingdom destined to rival mine, but, traitor, your vaunts are idle. By fraud, not fate, perishes faith. But you were seeking an appointed realm and could not override the fate of the world! If it be *permitted* for you to go, so be it. For you are fleeing from one who took you in, and you will pray the prayers of a guilty man.⁴ No need for me to call in idle outcry on words and promises. Whoever weeps for my wounds, let him say that I made no complaint. All things come by chance, Nature has no place for destiny.

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. In radiant glory Cynthia reforms her light, curving the horns of her bow, the glowing light she borrows from her brother. Day exhausts his prerogative; he must yield to his sister, as law requires. So Nature keeps the world in hand, this receiving in lieu of that.

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. Black night encompasses

⁴ I.e., your prayers at sea will not be answered; cf. line 99.

lege poli, peraguntque micantia sidera cursus. 50
navifragi tacet unda salis nec murmurat auster
nec flexum quatit aura nemus.

Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. ramis quoque garrula pendens
iam Philomela tacet damno male picta pudoris,
amplexumque fovens querulos sub culmine nidos 55
pensat amore nefas, miserasque alitura querellas
nocte premit quod luce dolet.

Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. nunc iam bene iunctus amantes
ardor alit thalamique fidem sua pignera complent.
coniunx laeta viro, felix uxore maritus. 60
vota recenset amor secretaque dulcia; somnus
concordat cum nocte torum.

[Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. fecundo semine rerum
mutat terra vices et alumni temporis auras
laeta vocat. spisso revirescit gramine campus 65
et vitreas ligat herba comas nec fallit aristas
proventu meliore dies.]

Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. fessus iuga solvit arator
et noctem per vota capit. reparare labores
novit grata quies, nec cessat reddere vires 70
infusus per membra sopor quisque ministram
ruricolis dat semper opem.

51 nauifragi *sched.*: -ge *A* sali *Burman* 53 ramis *idem*: pinnis *A*: primis
sched. quoque garrula *scripsi*: garulāmane *A*: male garrula ("i.e. iam non
garrula" *Riese*) *Burman* (*edd.*); sed mane ex succedenti versu irrepsisse verisimile
est 54 male picta* *A*: m- victa *Burman* (*edd.*): mulcata *malim* 55 amp-
lexuque *sched.*: -usq; *A* nidi *Burman*, natos *Maehly*, imperite uterque
58 amantes *Maehly*: -ē *A* 60 uxore maritus *Salmasius*: -res-tos *A* 62 con-
sociat *Maehly* vv. 62-67 (sua . . . dies) et 72-81 (sua . . . amor), qui ad amantem
de nocte vigilantem nihil pertinent, interpolatos esse statui. etenim vv. 62-67 (sua . . .
dies) inter 57-62 (sua . . . torum) et 67-72 (sua . . . opem) locum suum obtinere
putari quo modo possunt? adde quod ex duabus veris descriptionibus altera redundat.
vide etiam ad v. 84 64 alumni *Baehrens*: autumni *A*: verni *Heinsius* 65 revir-
rescit *Burman*: reuiue- *A* 66 ligat (t *supra lin.*) *A*: agit *Maehly*: levat *Baehrens*
arista *idem* 67 proventu . . . dies *Burman*: -tum . . . die *A* 68 so-
luet *A* 69 per vota (i.e. votis optatam?) *A*: post rura coni. *Baehrens* rapit
Wernsdorf: cupit *Maehly* (cf. *Aen.* 4.530 (neque) pectore noctem | accipit) labori
Schrader 70 novit grata *Salmasius*: nonuibrata *A* 71 durisque* *scripsi*: ru- *A*

the sunken day with darkling shades and by the law of heaven enjoys her gloom, and the twinkling stars accomplish their courses. The wave of the shipwrecker sea is silent, the south wind sighs not, nor any breeze shakes the pliant woods.

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. Even garrulous Philomel, sorrowfully painted⁵ by her honour's loss, is silent now, perching among the branches. Beneath the tree-top she cherishes her querulous brood in her embrace and compensates crime with love. Fostering piteous complaints, she stifles by night her grief by day.

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. Now passion fitly joined fosters lovers and the pledged faith of the wedding-chamber is redeemed. The wife rejoices in her man, the husband is happy in his mate. Love recapitulates vows and sweet secrets. Sleep sets bed and night in harmony.

[*Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows.* Earth with fertile seed makes her natural changes and joyfully summons the breezes of the fostering season. Once more the land is verdant with lush grass, the herbage twines vitreous tresses, the passing days bring more abundant harvest nor dupe the corn-ears.]

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. The weary ploughman unyokes his team and takes the night he prayed for. Grateful rest can make good his toil, and slumber passing through his limbs unceasingly restores his strength, ever ministering aid to the hard tillers of the soil.

⁵ If *picta* is right, in allusion to the fabric on which Philomela's outrage by Tereus was painted in blood and sent to her sister.

[Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. reparant sua litora ponti
successu post damna suo perituraque ludunt
incrementa maris dubii, regit aequora fluctus 75
lege sua vicibusque suis quod deperit auget.
officiis natura vacat.

Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. gemmatis roscida verni
rident prata rosis et floribus arva tumescunt.
pictus ager sub flore latet, dat fronde coronas 80
lascivis natura rosis.]

Sua taedia solus
fallere nescit amor. nec grata silentia noctis
nec somni pia dona placent nec munera lucis,
[carpit et indutias fugientis non capit anni].
sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit. 85
[inter mille dolos totidemque piacula fraudis]

Vota quidem vellem tectis peritura querellis
flere domo, vellem tacitos consumere fletus,
sed negat ipse dolor. quod iam pudor ante negavit,
scribere iussit amor. 90

Miseram me, cuius honestam
fecit culpa fidem! poteram dispergere ponto
membra manusque tuas miseramque tumentibus undis
praecipitare viam, poteram crescentis Iuli
rumpere fata manu parvumque resolvere corpus
morte gravi mersumque in viscera figere ferrum 95

73 litura *A* ponti] *fort. pro undis* (cf. *Aen.* 1.114) 74 successu . . . suo
Riese: -us . . . suos *A* post *Burman*: per *A* 75 regit *Salmasius*: regunt *A*
76 lege *Wernsdorf*: lite *A* 78 post amor duo hemisticha (ut, puta, discussis
imbribus atra / cum requievit hiems) excidisse putavit *L. Mueller* (versum post
v. 80 iam *Wernsdorf*), ratione, nisi forte interpolator quot versus facere debuerit non
animadvertit verni *Riese*: uesui *A*: visu *Wernsdorf* 79 tumescit *A*
80 fronte sched. coronę *A* 81 rosis] post rosis in v. 79 parum eleganter
positum sensuque haud perspicuo; sed in versu spurio non est quod laboremus
84 carpit; primitias coni. *Riese*; sed versum barbarum in locum genuini ingestum
potius credas pascit *Salmasius*: pos- *A* 86 hunc quoque versum hoc loco prorsus
alienum reieci piacula] pericula *Schrader* (edd.), *fort. recte* 87 vota] nota vulg.
olim: vana coni. *Baehrens* quidem* scripsi: queror *A* tectis* scripsi: tacitis *A*:
placidis sched. 88 tacitus (o supra u scr.) umere (perfundere sched.) *A*, *corr.*
Burman: iam tabida fundere *Riese* (!) 89-90* distinxi: dolor, quod . . . neg-
avit; / scribere iussit amor miseram . . . fidem vulg. 91 culpam *A* 92 an-
miseramve? 93 viam (i.e. iter vel discessum) scripsi: diem *A*

[*Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows.* The waves remake their shores, gaining after loss, and increases of the uncertain sea sport only to vanish. The wave governs the ocean by its own law and replenishes what is lost at its own times. Nature is ever ready to do her offices.

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. Dewy meadows laugh with the budding roses of spring-time and fields swell with blossoms. The painted soil hides beneath flowers, Nature garlands the wanton roses with foliage.]

Love alone knows not how to beguile its sorrows. Neither the grateful silence of night nor sleep's gentle gifts nor the bounties of the daylight give pleasure. Defeated love feeds only on its own wounds.

I would fain have wept over ephemeral vows at home, hiding complaint, and exhausted my tears in silence but very grief forbids. Love has commanded me to write what shame erewhile refused.

Woe is me, my fault made me keep fair faith. I could have scattered your limbs and hands over the sea, I could have hastened your sorry path over the swelling waves, I could have cut short by violence the boy Iulus' span, dissolved his small frame in death, plunged steel into his

vel dare membra feris; sed nostro pectore pulsum
cessit amore nefas et honesta pericula passi
corda lig<av>it amor. quis tantum in hospite vellet
hoc audere nefas? quis vota nocentis habere?
nullus amor sub laude latet.

100

Cui digna rependes,
si mihi dura paras? miserandae fata Creusae
lamentis gemituque trahens infausta peregi
vota deis durumque nefas sortemque malorum
te narrante tuli. gemitus mentisque dolorem
et lacrimas prior ipsa dedi.

105

Cui digna rependes,
si mihi dura paras? dulcis mea colla fovebat
Ascanius miseroque [puer fovebat amorem,
cui modo nostra fides] amissam reddere matrem
dum cupit, ut verum mentito pignore nomen
format amor gemitusque graves atque oscula figit
concessus pietate dolor.

110

Cui digna rependes,
si mihi dura paras? nostri modo litoris hospes
nudus et exul eras, dispersa classe per undas
naufragus, ut taceam clades quascumque videbas
inpendisse tibi. licet et tibi cuncta fuissent,
regna tamen Carthago dedit.

115

Cui digna rependes,
si mihi dura paras? nihil est quod dura reposcam
quidquid nec donasse velim. quae perdere possem,
numquam damna voco. vel hoc mihi, perfide, redde

96 membra *Salmasius*: mensa *A* 97 cessit *Schrader*: crescit *A* honesta
Salmasius: -as *A* passi* *scripsi*: -sus *A* 98 fort. tantum quis* 99 audire *A*
100 laude* *sanum iudico*: corde *sched.*: labe *Baehrens*: fraude *coni.* *Riese* digna
Salmasius: -ne *A* (item 105, 111, 116) 102 lamentis *Salmasius* -ta *A*: -tans
(gemitusque) *Maehly*, fort. recte infausta *scripsi*: infanda *A* peregi *Wernsdorf*:
-it *A* 103 vota deis *Salmasius*: uotodies *A* 105 lacrimis *A* 107 miser-
oque *scripsi* duobus sequentibus hemistichis seclusis (v. 107 totum del. *Birt*): -rūq; *A*
figebat *Oudendorp*, fort. recte. ceterum amor *Didoni a falso Ascanio iniectus ad hunc*
locum vix pertinere videtur 108 nostram fidem *A* 109 ut* *scripsi*: hoc *A*
110 gemitusue *A* 111 concessus *Maehly*: confe- *A* (edd.) 112 nostro *A*
hospis *A* 113 nudus et exul eras *Maehly*: nudos distuleras *A* dispersa
classe (clade *sched.*) *Salmasius*: -as -es *A* 114 classes *sched.* videbas *Baehrens*:
-bor *A*: -bars *sched.* 115 et *Baehrens*: hęc *A* 117 reposcam *Higtius*: -cent *A*
118 quidquid nec* *scripsi*: nec q- *A*: nec quidquam *A* corr. m. l 119 volo
vulg.

vitals or given his limbs to wild beasts; but love drove the wickedness from my breast, love for one who had passed honorable dangers⁶ bound my heart. Who (you may ask) would have wished to dare such wickedness against a guest? Who would have wished to pray thenceforth the prayers of the guilty? Not so, love never hides behind reputation.⁷

To whom will you make fair return if you mean harshly by me? With groans and laments enduring the fate of hapless Creusa I made ill-omened prayers to the gods and bore the lot of woe as you recounted it. Groans and grief of mind and tears I gave, even before I heard the story.

To whom will you make fair return if you mean harshly by me? Sweet Ascanius had his arms about my neck; and in desire to give back his lost mother to the poor lad, my love counterfeited offspring, forming the name⁸ as though truly mine. And grief permitted by maternal affection uttered heavy groaning and planted kisses.

To whom will you make fair return if you mean harshly by me? But lately you were the guest of my shore, a naked exile, shipwrecked with your fleet scattered over the waves — not to speak of all the disasters you saw ahead of you. But even if you had lacked nothing, yet Carthage gave you a kingdom.

To whom will you make fair return if you mean harshly by me? No need to be so unkind as to ask the return of anything I could wish I had not bestowed in the first place.⁹ I never call things which I might have

⁶ So Desdemona loved Othello for the dangers he had passed. *honesti pericula* recurs in line 136.

⁷ I.e., it was not consideration for her character as a hostess but love which held Dido back from murdering her guests.

⁸ Of mother.

⁹ I.e., gifts other than love.

quod sibi debet amor. si nil pia facta merentur, 120
 esse deos natura docet, non esse timendos
 rerum facta probant. quid enim non credere possum?
 tutus fraude manes et nos pietate perimus!
 inprobe, dure, nocens, crudelis, perfide, fallax,
 officiis ingratis meis! (quid verba minantur? 125
 non odit qui vota dolet, nec digna rependit
 quisquis laesa gemit). tibi nempe remissus habetur
 lege pudoris amor, cui tanta dedisse recusem:
 sceptrum, domum, Tyrios, regnum, Carthaginis arces,
 et quidquid regnantis erat. de coniuge, fallax, 130
 non de iure queror. meritum si non habet ardor,
 sed quod hospes eras, non te magis esse nocentem
 quam miserum, Troiane, puto, qui digna repellis,
 dum non digna cupis. nondum bene siccus ad aequor
 curris et extremas modo naufragus arripis undas. 135
 tutior esse times et honesta pericula poscis.
 cum mala vota cupis, solus tibi, dure, profecto
 damna paras. fugis, ecce fugis nostrosque penates
 deseris et miseram linquis Carthaginis aulam,
 quae tibi regna dedit, sacro diademate crines 140
 cinxit et augustam gemmato sidere frontem
 conplevit nostrumque tibi commisit amorem.
 sic, puto, maius habes, et adhuc sine coniuge regnas,
 Aeneas, ingratis, meus. negat ira dolenti
 consilium; sed praestat amor. mea vulnera vellem 145
 fletibus augeri, sed iam discrimine mortis
 victa feror. neque enim tantus de funere luctus
 quantus erit de fratre.

Licet simul improbus exul
 et malus hospes eras et ubique timendus abibis,
 vive tamen nostrumque nefas post fata memento. 150

120-121* *distinxi*: amore, si . . . merentur, / esse . . . docet; non *vulg.* 122
 non credere] c- non A 123 totus fraudata A 125-127 *parenthesin feci*
 126 *anne* quae?* 127 quisquis* *Maehly*: quidquid A laesa* *vulg.* olim:
 lexa A: plexa *Heinsius* (!) nempe* *Baehrens*: mepe A 128-130 amor! qui
 (= quomodo). . . erat? *Riese* (*Baehrens*) 132 non* *scripsi*, *distinctione mutata*:
 nec A 134 dum *Oudendorp*: sum A 136 timens inhonesta *Higtius*, *fort.*
recte poscis *Wernsdorf*: nes- A 137 dure *scripsi*: dura A 142 conplebit
 A: implicuit *Maehly* 143 sic *scripsi*: nil A 144 ante meus (= *quavis*
meus) *distinxi* 147 feror *sched.*: fessos A funere *sched.*: fen- A: foedere
Baehrens 148 erat *Wernsdorf* (*edd.*), *praeter necessitatem si intellegas* "neque
 enim tantus de funere luctus erit quantus de fratre (fuit)" 149 malus *Baehrens*:
 maius A abibis* *scripsi*: haberis A 150 facta A

lost anyway 'losses.' But at least repay me, traitor, what love owes to love. If kind deeds deserve¹⁰ no return, then Nature teaches us that the gods exist, but the facts of life prove we have no cause to be afraid of them. For what cannot I now believe? By treachery you stay safe and I by kindness perish! Shameless, unfeeling, guilty, cruel, perfidious, false, ungrateful for my favours (what threat is in my words? Who grieves for vows, hates not; and she who bewails her injuries, makes no condign requital). You think, I suppose, that you are excused from loving by the law of shame, in that, as you imagine, I repent my lavish gifts;¹¹ sceptre, palace, Tyrians, royalty, the citadel of Carthage, and all that appertained to a ruler. Deceiver, my complaint concerns a husband, not a legal claim. But if it is not my passion but my hospitality that makes you my debtor, I think you not more guilty than miserable, Trojan, in that you reject things of worth and desire things worthless. Before you are thoroughly dry, you run to the sea and, so lately shipwrecked, snatch after the water's edge. You fear safety and demand honorable dangers. Setting your heart on bad desires, stubborn sir, you surely lay up losses for yourself, you and you only. You flee, see, you flee and forsake my house and abandon Carthage's hapless court, which gave you royalty, circled your hair with sacred diadem, filled your august brow with twin stars, and trusted you with my love. Thus, I fancy, you are the gainer and continue to rule without a consort, *my* Aeneas, you ingrate. Anger denies me judgment in my grief; but love prevails. I would fain my wounds were widened by weeping, but the moment of death has come; I am borne away, past resistance. After all, death will not cause me as much sorrow as my brother did.

Though you were an unconscionable exile and a bad guest and are one to be feared wherever you go, yet live on and remember your sin against me after I am gone.

¹⁰ Or "win."

¹¹ The shame Aeneas should feel at Dido's sense of his ingratitude would be incompatible with love for her.

RIESE 199

VESPÆ

IUDICIUM COCI ET PISTORIS IUDICE VOLCANO

Ter ternae, varias cunctae quae traditis artes,
 linquite Pierios colles et scribite mecum.
 ille ego Vespa precor, cu<i>, divae, saepe dedistis
 per multas urbes populo spectante favorem.
 scribere mellis opus et dulcia carmina quaero, 5
 nec mel erit solum; aliquid quoque iuris habebit.

Contendit pistor, cocus est contrarius illi.
 his est Vulcanus iudex, qui novit utrosque.
 ad causam pistor procedit primus agendam,
 canitiem capiti toto praebeante farina: 10

"Numina per Cereris iuro, per Apollinis arcus:
 miror enim, fateor, et iam vix credere possum
 quod cocus iste mihi sit respondere paratus,
 de cuius manibus semper fit pane satullus,
 quisve sit utilior audet contendere mecum. 15
 sunt testes anni faustae Ianique Kalendae,
 quique meum studium per Saturnalia norunt,
 quorum epulas semper rerum commendo paratu.
 sis memor, o Saturne, tuis quod praesto diebus
 et me pro studio trepidum tu numine firma. 20
 aurea coeperunt sub te quoque saecula farre;
 denique si Cereris non tu pia dona dedisses,
 roderet adsidue cocus iste sub ilice glandes."

"Nempe opus est cunctis panis, quem nemo recusat,
 quo sine quas possunt mortales ponere cenas? 25
 qui vires tribuit, qui primus poscitur, hic est,

Incipit (om. A) iudiciū coci et pistoris uestpē iudice (-ci A) uulcano AB
 1 varias cunctae *Salmasius* (-as cuncte B: -as cuncta A: -as docte *Riese* (cunctis
olim): varie cunctas *Baehrens*: varias sanctae R. T. Clark 5 mellis *Rivinus*:
 maius A (edd.) 6 iuris *amphiboliam* habet, ut in v. 60; etenim mel ad pistorem
 pertinet, ius ad cocum 11 Apollo propter pollinem invocatur arcus A: -u
 B: -um *Pithoeus* 12-13 possum . . . paratus om. B v. 14 post v. 15 po-
 suit *Riese* a censore anonymo monitus 14 fit A: sit B pane satullus *Buecheler*:
 panis (ex -it B) sad (ex sat A, aut B) u- AB: panis ad usus *Baehrens* 16
 faustē ianīq; (sic) A: -te iamque B 20 pro* *Baehrens*: prae (prē) AB nomine
 A: munime B 21 farre *Barth*: ferre (-rē A) AB 22 dona B: om. A 26
 primus B: -ū A (edd.)

III

THE BAKER AND THE COOK

The opening lines give the author's name, Vespa, and imply that he was an itinerant rhetor (so M. Schuster, *RE* VIIIA 1705) or some other kind of public entertainer. Much of his humor lies in puns, usually untranslatable. I have not thought it necessary as a rule to draw attention to these in notes, since they will be obvious to any reader of the Latin.

The piece is found in A and B.

A TRIAL BETWEEN A COOK AND A BAKER
WITH VULCAN AS UMPIRE
BY VESPA

Ladies thrice three, who all give us different arts, leave the hills of Pieria and write with me. It is I who pray, Vespa, to whom you goddesses have often in many cities given favor before a popular audience. I seek to write a work of honey and sweet song, nor will it just be honey; it will have some sauce¹² too.

A baker contends, a cook is his adversary. Vulcan is their judge; he knows them both. The baker comes forward first to plead his case. Flour makes his whole head white.

"By the divinity of Ceres I swear, by Apollo's bow: I am indeed amazed, I admit it, and can hardly believe that this cook is ready to reply to me, from whose hands he always stuffs himself with bread, or dares to dispute with me which is the more useful. The years bear witness and Janus' lucky Kalends, and those who know my calling through the Saturnalia, whose banquets I always grace with provisions. Don't forget, Saturn, what I supply to your festal days and strengthen me by your divine power as I tremble for my calling. The golden age began under you with flour. In fact, if you had not given us the kindly gifts of Ceres, this cook would be munching acorns all the time under an oak tree."

"There's no denying that everyone needs bread. No one refuses it. What dinners can mortals serve without it? This is what gives strength,

¹² This familiar play on the two senses of *ius* recurs in lines 29 (?) and 60.

quem serit agricola, quem maximus educat aether.
 hunc pater Aeneas Troianis vexit ab oris,
 nil sine quo tua iura valent, ingrata, canina.
 provocor ut dicam: Melitonem rodere temptas, 30
 quem docuit notus Cerealis fingere panes,
 urbe Placentinus. cunctas qui tradidit artes,
 Pythagoras populo nescis quae suaserit olim,
 mandere ne vellent mixto cum sanguine carnes?
 'si iugulatis oves, quid erit quod vestiat?' inquit. 35
 'mactentur vituli, nec erit iam vomeris usus
 nec segetum fecunda dabit sua munera tellus.'"
 "Sed temere facio si te, coce, conparo nobis,
 cum possim numen quodcumque potest superiorum.
 Iuppiter ipse tonat: tono, cum molo, sic ego pistor. 40
 Mars subigit bello multas cum sanguine gentes:
 pistor ego macto flavas sine sanguine messes.
 tympana habet Cybele: sunt et mihi tympana cribri;
 Thyrsiten<ens> Satyros: facio et saturo<s> ego plures.
 illum praecedunt Panes: facio mihi panes. 45
 quid vero? manibus nostris non dulce paratur?
 nos facimus populo studiose coptoplacentas,
 nos adipata damus, nos grata canopica †vobis†,
 crustula nos Iano; sponsae mustacia mitto.
 noverunt omnes pistorum dulcia facta, 50
 noverunt multi crudelia facta cocorum.
 tu facis in tenebris miserum prandere Thyestem,
 nescius ut Tereus cenet facis, improbe, natum,
 tu facis in lucis ut cantet tristis aëdon
 maestaque sub tecto sua murmuret acta chelidon. 55

29 nil *Riese* tu *A*: te *B*: nec *Baehrens* canina *Mariotti* (vide "*Jachmannstudien*", 130 sq.): comina *A*: cum- *B*: coquina *Baehrens* (*Riese*) 30-32* hoc loco multas priorum hariolationes praetereo 30 Melitonem scripsi: mil- *AB* rodere *E*. *Abel*: tu roso *AB*: tu, coce *Riese* 32 cunctas... artes ad *Pythagoram* pertinere vidit *Wernsdorf*, recentiores non viderunt 38 sed nescio quis: et *AB*: at *Barth* 40 molo *B*: ulo *A*: roto *coni.* *Baehrens*, volo *Riese*, nugas agentes 44 Thyrsitenens *Baehrens*: tyrsiden *A*: tirsit ten *B*: Thyrsiger en *Wernsdorf* Satyros (*sc. habet, quod Baehrensium fefellisse videtur*) *Baehrens*: satiros *A* (*sic*) *B* facio *B*: ficio *A* 46 quid vero *coni.* *Baehrens*: quidue etiam (-a *B*) *AB*: quidque e- *vulg.* 47 coptoplacentas *Heinsius*: comte p- *A*: comptop- *B* 48 adipata *B*: -ada *A* vobis corruptum esse vidit *Baehrens*, favis *coni.*; sed qui Iano et sponsae respondeat desideratur 50 facta] i.e. res factas 52 tiestē *A*: uertem *B* v. 62 ante v. 61 posuit *Riese*, eidem censori (vide ad v. 15) obsecutus

what is asked for first, what the farmer sows, what the wide sky rears. This is what Father Aeneas brought from the shores of Troy. Without it your beastly sauces are good for nothing, you ingrate. I am provoked into speaking out: you dare to put your teeth into Melito, pupil of Cerealis, a well-known hand at shaping loaves and a citizen of Placentia.¹³ Don't you know what Pythagoras, he who gave us all our arts, once told the people, to stop them chewing flesh and blood? 'If you kill the sheep, what will you have to wear?' said he. 'Slaughter the calves, and there will be no more use for the ploughshare nor will the fertile earth yield her bounteous crops.'"

"But I am inconsiderate if I compare you, cook, with myself, when I can do whatever any divinity on high can do. Jupiter himself thunders: even so I, the baker, thunder when I grind. Mars subdues many peoples in war with bloodshed; I, the baker, slaughter yellow harvests without bloodshed. Cybele has drums: I have drums too — my searces. The wielder of the thyrsus has satyrs: I satiate many. Pans go in front of him: I make loaves. Tell me, now, is not sweetness the product of our hands? We make simnel-cake for public consumption professionally, give them pastries, along with shortbread (?) and tarts, liked respectively by * and Janus. To the bride-to-be I send wedding cakes. All know the sweet works of bakers: many know the cruel works of cooks. You make poor Thyestes lunch in the dark, you make Tereus dine off his son unawares, you rascal, you make the melancholy nightingale sing in the woodlands and the mournful swallow murmur her deeds under the eaves. If I never

¹³ Pun on *placenta* (cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 162), a cake made with honey.

talìa si numquam feci nec talia suasi,
ordine primus ero, dignus quem palma sequatur”.

Conticuit pistor. coepit cocus ordine fari,
ora niger studio, faciem mutante favilla:

“Si verbis pistor damnavit iura cocorum, 60
illi ne credas aliquid, quia fingere novit, 62
qui semper multis dicit se vendere fumum, 61
stat qui sub saxo quasi Sisyphus atque laborat,
denique qui tantum de melle et polline fingit
has quas iactat opes. nobis quae copia dicam. 65
silva feras tribuit, pisces mare et aura volucres,
dat vinum Bromius, Pallas mihi praestat olivam,
datque sues Calydon et saepe ego condio dammas,
saepe etiam perdix iacet et Iunonius ales,
gemmatam pinnis solitus producere caudam. 70
certe quem extollit, quem laudat saepius ille,
ille suus panis sine nobis, crede, placere
solus non poterit, nec si sit melleus ipse.
quis me non laudet sternentem pisce patellas,
cum positus madeat deceptus ab aequare rhombus?” 75

“Sed similem superis ego me magis esse docebo.
est Bromio Pentheus: est et mihi de bove pentheus.
uritur Alcides flammis: conburor ad ollas.
sicut Neptuno fervet mihi caccaba fluctu.
novit Apollo suas studiose tangere chordas: 80
et mihi per digitos texuntur quam bene chordae!
exseco sic gallos qualis Berecynthia Gallos.

Partes quisque suas tollet qui cenat apud me:
ungellam Oedipodi, sycotum pono Promethei,
Pentheo pono caput, ficatum do Tityoni, 85

62 quia] *anne* qui? 63 denique *Riese*: *denuce AB* 68 calidon *B*: -ona *A*
et *om. B* 70 gemmantem *B* *vv. 72-73 om. B* 72 suus* *scripsi*: tuus *A*
73 si] sic *A* 75 adeat (*m superscr.*) *A* rhombus *AB* 76 sed *Riese*: si *AB*: et
Baehrens 77 pentheus *Ihm, coll. Petron. 47.10*: penteus *AB*, suo more: pantix
(*melius* -tex) *Wernsdorf* 78 ollas *B*: illas *A* 79 fervet mihi caccaba fluctu
(*cf. κακκάβη*) *scripsi*: feruent in caccabo (-auos *B*) fluctus *AB*: -ent mihi cacaba
fluctu *Wernsdorf*, qui etiam -ent cacabo mihi fluctus 82 exseco *Barth*: et s- *AB*
qualis *Ihm*: quasi *A*: quasi cum *Rivinus* uere (uero *B*) quintia *AB* 83
tollit *edd.* (*cf. vv. 87 et 89*) apud *B*: apud *A* 84 ungelam *A*: ungue- *B*
Oedipodi *Ihm* (-dae *Heinsius*): (h)ydiippi *AB*: Oedippo *Thewrewk*: Oedippi *Riese*
("ab ἵππος ducit poeta;" sed ungulam equinam fuisse nihil monstrat. idem ungellas
sphingis significari putavit) 84-85 "sycotum vel ficatum est ἡπαρ συκωτόν" *Riese*

did the like, nor ever urged another so to do, I shall rank first, worthy of the palm."

The baker was silent. The cook began to speak in his turn, his face black from his calling — the hot embers changed it.

"If the baker has condemned the sauces of cooks, don't believe a word. For he knows how to shape a loaf or a lie. He always tells people that he is selling smoke.¹⁴ He stands under a stone like Sisyphus and toils away. And then, these good things he brags of, he makes them from nothing but honey and flour. Now let me tell you of the wealth that comes *our* way. The forest contributes game, the sea fish, and the air birds. Bromius gives me wine, Pallas provides the olive, Calydon supplies pigs and I often season venison. Often too a partridge lies on the board or one of Juno's birds, wont to spread his jewelled tail-feathers. Certain it is, believe me, that this bread of his which he keeps on praising and lauding will not be enjoyed on its own without us, not if he be made of honey himself. Who would not praise me as I spread the dishes with fish, when the tricked turbot is served up moist from the sea?"

"But I shall prove that I resemble the gods more than he. Bromius has his Pentheus: and I have a pentheus made of beef. Alcides is burned in flames: I am burned at my cooking-pots. My cauldron boils and bubbles like Neptune's. Apollo knows how to twang his gut like a professional: and how nicely my fingers twine my guts together. I geld my cocks just like Cybele does with her Galli."

"Each one that dines with me shall get his appropriate portions. I serve trotters to Oedipus, foie gras to Prometheus, head to Pentheus,

¹⁴ *fumum vendere* = "tell falsehoods."

siccus aqualiculum reddi sibi Tantalus orat,
 cervinam Actaeon tollit, Meleager aprinam,
 agninam Pelias, taurinam longulus Ajax,
 Orpheu, tu tolle<s> chordas, Leandre, lacertos,
 me sterilem Niobe, linguam Philomela rogant me, 90
 pinna Philoctetam meruit, rogat Icarus alas,
 bubula Passiphae, Europe bubula poscit,
 auratam Danaae, cygnum bene condio Ledaе.'

'Iam finem pugnae faciat sententia nobis.'

Utque cocus pressit vocem, sic Mulciber infit: 95
 "es, coce, suavis homo; dulcis sed tu quoque, pistor.
 aequales dimitto deus, qui vos bene novi.
 consentite (bonis sine rixa vivere dulce est),
 ne frigus faciam, si me subduxero vobis.'

86 siccus *Haupt*: solus *AB* 87 *anne* tollet? 87 aprinam *A*: -imam *B*:
 aprunam *Pithoeus* 88 longulus* *scripsi*: lingulus *AB*: limulus *coni. Riese*
 89 tolles *scripsi*: tolle *A*: telle *B*: tollis *vulg.* 90 rogant *A*: -at *B* 91 pinna
Ihm: pluma *AB* Philoctetam *scripsi*: filocteta (si- *B*) *AB* planta Philoctetam
 nutrit *Petschenig*: pluma ("sagittae" *Riese*) Philoctetae servit *E. Abel* ("optime"
Riese; sed plumam quis comedere potest?) 92 bubula (*alt.*) nub- *AB* 98
 bonis *Barth*: uobis *AB* (*Riese*): probis *Baehrebs*

foie gras again to Tityo. Thirsty Tantalus begs to be given a paunch. Actaeon gets venison, Meleager boar, Pelias lamb, tall Ajax bull-beef. Orpheus, you will get gut, you, Leander, mussels.¹⁵ Niobe asks me for a sterile matrix, Philomela for tongue, a sea-pen got¹⁶ Philoctetes, Icarus asks for wings, Pasiphaë and Europa both want beef, for Danaë I season a gilt-bream nicely, for Leda a swan."

"Now let the verdict end our contest."

When the cook stopped talking, Mulciber thus spoke: "You are a pleasant fellow, cook; but you too, baker, are agreeable company. As a god who knows you both well, I dismiss you equal. Agree together (good folk like to live without squabbling), or I might make things chilly¹⁷ for you if I take myself off."

¹⁵ *lacerti* = "arms" or "muscles"; *lacertus* is a kind of fish.

¹⁶ *pinna* = "feather" or "arrow," also a kind of mussel.

¹⁷ With the common double sense of *frigus*, literal and figurative ("unpopularity").

NOTE ON *Towards a Text*: Some addenda and corrigenda to these notes: 83.37 Maehly proposed *devincere* and *isto* in 404.1, also anticipated *caesa* in 234.17. 205.12 J. M. Stowasser had seen that *bissis* = *uissis*, and I believe the same observation lurks somewhere in the prefatory notes to Heraeus' edition of Martial. 217.1 Cf. 199.50 *pistorum dulcia facta*. 223.17 ff and 253 64 What needed saying had already been said by S. Timpanaro in *Stud. Ital. di Fil. Cl.* 25 (1951). 39 and *Maia* 15 (1963). 388. 323 ll. 4 and 6 of note: For *impetrat* read *imperat*. 383.6 The answer seems to be neither *construxit* nor *quam struxit*, but *non struxit*; cf. Ael. Nat. Anim. IX.17 *καλιὰν ἐργάζεται, οὔτε πηλοῦ καὶ ὀρόφου ὡς ἡ χελιδὼν δεομένη*. 485 Delete "Citherius rhetor." 700.7 For "Baehrens" read "Buecheler." 760a.93 For the cliché *in umbra potare* see *Phoenix* 32 (1978). 325. 808.160 *non stridens gremium* was anticipated by Vollmer in his edition (*Poet. Lat. Min.* V).

MACROBIUS AND SERVIUS: VERECUNDIA AND THE GRAMMARIAN'S FUNCTION

ROBERT KASTER

I

THE *grammaticus*, Seneca says (with more than a touch of sarcasm), is the *custos Latini sermonis* (*Epist.* 95,65), "the guardian of the Latin language." At the end of antiquity, the metaphor of the *custos* reappears in the writings of St. Augustine, in a different application: the grammarian's craft as the *custodia historiae* (*De musica* 2.1.1, *P.L.* 32.1099), the grammarian as the "guardian" of the traditional culture in all the many aspects of learning covered by the word *historia*. In each case, the particular turn of phrase suggests a concern characteristic of the individual. For Seneca, the grammarian's performance as *custos Latini sermonis* means, in effect, that "he busies himself with the language and, if he wishes to wander farther afield, with 'histories,' and finally, to extend the boundaries as far as possible, with poetry" (*Epist.* 88.3). That description, with its gradation of priorities placing language foremost and poetry on the periphery, is at once good Stoic orthodoxy and unique among Latin writers:¹ it is, in fact, not so much a description of current educational practice as a prescription, seeking to limit the grammarian's sphere and thereby his antiquarian baggage, the sort of thing which shares, with tessellated baths and the habits of the gourmand, Seneca's multifaceted contempt for the impedimenta that slow one's journey to *virtus*.² Augustine's emphasis, on the other hand, falls on *historia*, the great weight of tradition. It is the binding and limiting

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¹ Cf. Gudeman in *RE* 7 (1912) s.v. Grammatik col. 1810 f; cf. also Sex. Empiricus *Adv. gramm.* 91 ff.

² See all of *Epist.* 88, especially the treatment of Didymus Chalkenteros at 88.37; also his lengthy comparison of the philosopher, the *philologus* and the *grammaticus* at 108.30 ff; or 58.1 ff, and "wasting one's time with a grammarian."

force of the past's authority that animates the grammarian's *custodia historiae*,³ and it is Augustine's understanding of the power and inclusiveness of *historia* that informs his attitude toward the inherited culture:⁴ while in the *De musica* the *custodia historiae* involves a simple matter of prosody, it is implicitly as *custodes historiae*, perpetuators of the "wretched error" of the old religion, that the *grammatici* are drawn into the initial polemics of the *De civitate Dei* (1.3).

The metaphors of the *custos Latini sermonis* and the *custos historiae* are noteworthy for four interrelated reasons. The two aspects of the *custodia* correspond, first of all, to the two halves of the grammarian's task, *recte loquendi scientia* and *poetarum enarratio*, the terms used by Quintilian⁵ and found with slight variation in the grammarians' own handbooks down to the end of antiquity. As Quintilian pointed out, both halves must be understood to cover more ground than appears at a glance, especially the second, which demands that the grammarian "straighten out standing questions, explain matters involving knowledge of the past (*historias*), and interpret the poems" (*Inst.* 1.2, 14). In turn, there was implied in the grammarian's combined functions, and the wide-ranging expectations to which he was subject, a second point concerning his *custodia*: the grammarian performed as a *custos* in another sense, occupying a cardinal position in the social and intellectual life of the empire, as he presided over the critical passage from bare literacy, gained in the *ludus litterarius*, to initiation in the literary culture and the promise of its status and perquisites.⁶ This second point

³ See H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris 1938; hereafter referred to as *Augustin*) 15.

⁴ See esp. Marrou, *Augustin*, with O. Gigon, *Die antike Kultur und das Christentum* (Gutersloh 1966), and a recent attempt to mediate between the two by F. Weissengruber, "Augustins Wertung von Grammatik und Rhetorik im Traktat Contra Cresconium," *Hermes* 105 (1977) 101-124.

⁵ *Inst.* 1.4,2 *haec . . . professio, cum brevissime in duas partis dividatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem, plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit.*

⁶ That the passage from the first to the second level of education (even more than the passage from the school of the grammarian to that of the rhetor) was the turning point, presenting the most critical social and economic obstacles, is implied by the fact that this first transition was often part of another critical passage, from country to town: the elementary schools tended to be less confined to substantial centers of population, the grammar and rhetorical schools more confined. See H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*⁶ (Paris 1965) 427 ff (with the interesting comparison of the educational careers of Virgil and St. Augustine); also M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² (Oxford 1957) 424 f, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Norman, Okla. 1964) 997 f.

passes naturally to a third: the grammarian's function was too important to be left to the grammarian. One finds in the literature generally, as in Seneca and Augustine, that the grammarian tends to become a mere cipher in the attempts of others to define his role for him. There is no lack of distinct sketches which suggest what the grammarian should and should not do: although often slighted in histories of ancient education in favor of an emphasis on methods, and never treated in precise, historical terms, the variety of opinion on this heading is itself a rich area for investigation. But while the nature and significance of the grammarian's task are expressed by others in a variety of ways, the grammarian's own point of view, his own definition of his status and function, remains curiously submerged. This is the fourth point: if the grammarian is used as a cipher by other writers, it is in part the grammarian's own fault; for among the significant participants in the literary culture, the grammarian is the most reticent when it comes to staking out his own position. Apart from the observations of ex-grammarians whose circumstances had variously changed (for example, Ausonius and Augustine), there exists, on the Latin side at least, no work in which the *grammaticus* stands apart from his labors to reflect and comment on them freely and personally. We are left with the not entirely happy task of drawing what inferences we can from the abstractions of the handbooks, the particularities of the commentary, and the place of the grammarian in the social system.⁷

The present study of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* is based upon the four points sketched above, and especially the third, the tendency of our sources to see the grammarian according to their own understanding of his function, making of him what suits their special purpose. Briefly, a reading of the *Saturnalia* will be proposed which takes as its starting point the qualities of the grammarian Servius, as he is presented in the dialogue. By using the figure of the grammarian as a way of approaching a work which is itself so profoundly "grammatical" in spirit and interest, I hope not only to provide specific elaboration of the points raised above but also to make plain, with greater precision and clarity than has been done previously, the attitudes which lie behind the *Saturnalia*. By way of conclusion, I will indicate certain problems concerning the historical and social context of Macrobius' work and that of the "real" Servius,

⁷ The contribution of K. Hopkins, "Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius," *CQ* 11 (1961) 239 ff, is particularly valuable in his last regard. It is clear that a first need for a coherent treatment of this matter is a prosopographical survey of the grammatici in the Imperial period, a work currently in progress.

questions which are raised by but go beyond the boundaries of the present discussion.

II

The *Saturnalia* has long occupied a special place in the history of letters of late antiquity. Purportedly written for the edification of Macrobius' son (1. *Praef.* 1 ff), the work draws together a distinguished collection of "nobles and other learned men" (1.1,1 *Romanae nobilitatis proceres doctique alii*) for the three-day holiday symposium. As the roll call of the "invited" suggests, the gathering captures, in microcosm, all that is excellent in both the society and the literary culture at large: the cream of the aristocracy represented by Praetextatus, Nicomachus Flavianus, Symmachus, the two Albini, Rufius and Caecina, together with their learned retinue — the philosopher Eustathius, the rhetor Eusebius, the grammarian Servius — and the young man Avienus; and to this nucleus there are added three uninvited guests — the cross-grained nobleman Evangelus and the two lesser figures who join the gathering in his company, the physician Dysarius and the boxer-turned-Cynic Horus.⁸ This mixture of characters produces a dialogue which, in its pursuit of the *arcana* of the ancient culture and above all in its communal study of Virgil, has exercised a peculiar fascination on modern readers. Yet, regarded as typifying an "interest in learning for its own sake . . . at a time when pedantry was unusually pervasive,"⁹ the *Saturnalia* has tended to arouse disappointment in the wake of fascination, and distaste following upon disappointment: it has been the lot of the *Saturnalia* to be described most often in terms of what it is not, as the reader stresses how far short the work falls of his own expectation and his own understanding of the proper literary or political aims of

⁸ For an appreciation of Macrobius' use and variation of the genre, see J. Flamant, "La technique du banquet dans les Saturnales de Macrobe," *REL* 46 (1968) 303 ff, and the same author's book, *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du IV^e siècle*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, vol. 58 (Leiden 1977) 177 ff. On the principle according to which Macrobius selected his participants, see A. Cameron, "The Date and Identity of Macrobius," *JRS* 56 (1966; hereafter referred to as "Date") 33 f. On the figure of the ἀκλῆτος, see J. Martin, *Symposion: Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form*. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 17.1-2 (Paderborn 1931) 64 ff, esp. 69 ff (on Evangelus and Horus); Evangelus, of course, is a man of substance (cf. 7.16,15, his estate at Tibur) who plainly regards himself as the social equal of the other *nobiles*: on his behavior, see further below.

⁹ R. D. Williams, "Servius, Commentator and Guide," *PVS* 6 (1966-67) 50.

exegesis.¹⁰ Less frequent, but more important, have been the attempts to read the *Saturnalia* positively, for its depiction of late antique cultural life; but here too, attention tended in the past to be directed away from the dialogue itself and toward the "circle of Symmachus" and the relations between paganism and Christianity in the last decades of the fourth century.¹¹ In a sense, the cart has often been put before the horse: attempts to discuss the *Saturnalia*'s very real significance as a document located in a specific cultural context have proceeded from certain assumptions, unexplored or only partly explored, concerning the mood and intent of the dialogue itself. The results have not always been happy, and what follows is, in part, an attempt to redress the balance. The attempt draws its primary impulse from Alan Cameron's redating of Macrobius' career to the early fifth century and the *Saturnalia* to the period around or not long after A.D. 431.¹² The effect of Cameron's adjustment has essentially been one of liberation: since it has become possible to place the *Saturnalia* beyond the religious crisis which dominated earlier approaches to the work, it has also become easier to direct our attention back to the work itself, to gain a more whole and balanced view. If we have learned to see in the *Saturnalia* not a literal or even first-hand account of the *saeculum Praetextati*, but a reconstruction and idealization of that age, we have also learned something about the process of cultural continuity from one era to the next.¹³ That

¹⁰ Literary: see the influential chapter of T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge 1901) 171 ff. Political: cf. F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna* (1967) 107, and S. Döpp, "Zur Datierung von Macrobius' 'Saturnalia'," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 619 ff, esp. 623, 625.

¹¹ Most thoroughly and sympathetically, H. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West," *HTR* 38 (1945) 206 ff, 237, 240, and "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century," in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963) 207 ff; less subtly, E. Türk, "Les Saturnales de Macrobe: Source de Servius Danielis," *REL* 41 (1963) 327 ff, esp. 336 ff.

¹² For our Macrobius = Theodosius, PPO Ital. in 430, Cameron "Date" 25 ff; cf. N. Marinone, *I Saturnali* (Turin 1967) 14 ff. Since Cameron's discussion, the identification of Macrobius with a proconsul of Africa in 410 has been revived by Flamant (*Macrobe* . . . [above, n.8] 102 ff); his arguments are a good deal less compelling than those of Cameron, and the identification leaves more questions unanswered than Flamant seems to realize. The most recent discussion, that of S. Döpp (above, n. 10), provides a useful survey of the question, but is unfortunate in its assumptions and argument.

¹³ In this regard, the consequences of Cameron's redating have been best explored by J. Matthews, "Continuity in a Roman Family: The Rufii Festi of Volsinii," *Historia* 16 (1967) 498 ff, and *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425* (Oxford 1975; hereafter referred to as *Arist.*) 369 ff; see

process, carrying along much that was the same into a world that looked back from a drastically altered prospect to the *locupletior res publica* of forty years before,¹⁴ is central to the ideal which Macrobius wished to transmit. When we make our way into the dialogue, we should be prepared to see, not only in the fact but in the form and manner of the idealization, something basic to Macrobius' purpose. It is here that Servius can serve as an effective guide.

We might look first at the description of Servius' entrance: "Following after these (viz. Symmachus and Caecina Albinus), his eyes upon the ground and looking as though he were trying to hide, came Servius, who had recently established himself as a teacher among the *grammatici*, at once admirable in his learning and attractive, delightful in his modesty — *iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia*" (1.2,15). Servius' extreme self-effacement, here and elsewhere in the dialogue, has often been attributed to his age: a factor, no doubt, although modern scholars, in the interest of establishing Servius' chronology, have tended to lay considerably more stress on his youth than does Macrobius.¹⁵ A more immediately apparent reason for his *verecundia* is a social one, his relation to the other members of the gathering.

First, the phrase *iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia*, with its nicely turned union of *doctrina* and *mores*, is redolent of the language of *amicitia*, what Symmachus terms the *lenocinia commendationis*.¹⁶ As part of the retinue of the nobility, Servius is suitably presented as a man

also P. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and Environment," *JTS* 19 (1968) 113 n.2, and R. A. Markus, "Paganism, Christianity and the Latin Classics in the Fourth Century," in J. W. Binns, ed., *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century* (London 1974) 1 ff (where, however, there is discernible a certain reluctance to abandon the *Saturnalia* as direct evidence for the "circle of Symmachus").

¹⁴ *CIL* VI.1783: *locupletioris adhuc reipublicae bona vel adservata vel etiam aucta* . . . ; on the significance for Macrobius of the inscription, celebrating the rehabilitation of the elder Nicomachus Flavianus in 431, see Cameron, "Date" 35 f.

¹⁵ Servius' youth is attested only by the passing allusion of the phrase *inter grammaticos doctorem recens professus* at 1.2,15, and by *adulescens*, applied to him near the end of the dialogue, at 7.11,2; contrast the case of Avienus, whose youth is constantly emphasized. It is generally agreed that Servius and Avienus are the (only) two characters too young to have participated in the dialogue at the time of its dramatic date (cf. Macrobius' defense of the anachronism at 1.1,5): on Servius' chronology, the basic discussion is that of H. Georgii, "Zur Bestimmung der Zeit des Servius," *Philol.* 71 (1912) 518 ff, with the elaborations of Cameron, "Date" 29 ff.

¹⁶ When it suits his purpose to turn the convention against itself: *Epist.* 2.38.

capable of steering a middle course between the dangers of professional life described by Symmachus (*Epist.* 1.43, recommending an *advocatus* to Ausonius):

scis nempe, in illo forensi pulvere quam rara cognatio sit facundi oris et boni pectoris, dum aut modestum ingenium verecundia contrahit aut successu eloquens insolescit.¹⁷

The terms of approbation applied to Servius in the dialogue recapitulate the qualities desired by patrons in their dependents: no doubt Macrobius, in maintaining his own network of *amicitia*, often had occasion to use comparable phrases in commendatory letters of his own, and no doubt the real Servius, in making his way in his profession, was often the subject of such praise.¹⁸ Since the aristocratic ideal of "gentleman and scholar," each quality more or less presuming the other, governed the formal and (more importantly) informal "requirements" for positions in the liberal professions,¹⁹ the language of that ideal quite naturally finds its way into the ideal world of the *Saturnalia*.

¹⁷ For other examples of the *vita et doctrina* type, see esp. *Epist.* 1.15, 1.79, 2.2, 2.16, 2.29, 2.39, 3.22, 7.58, 7.91, 9.2, 9.54.

¹⁸ It should be remembered that the little information we have from contemporary sources suggests that Servius did quite well for himself; in fact, his general prominence may be the only reason he was chosen by Macrobius as a participant, although his evident connection with the Albini may count for something as well. So in the preface to his *De metris Horatii* he explains to the dedicatee, a certain Fortunatianus, that he turned to Horace "while enjoying my leisure in Campania" (*GL* 4.468,6: *Horatium, cum in Campania otiarer, excepi*), quite in the manner of one of his aristocratic patrons; the dedication of the *De centum metris*, addressed to "*praetextatorum decus Albine*" (*GL* 4.454,4), suggests a connection sought or, perhaps more likely, gained with that distinguished family (if the young Albinus were a *praetextatus* at the time, his age would be that of one of Servius' pupils; among the known Albini of this general period, Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus — PVR in 414, probably the son of the Decius Albinus and grandson of the Caecina Albinus of the *Saturnalia* — seems most likely to fit the chronological requirements: on this Albinus, see Cameron, "Date" 30, 37, and the stemma in *PLRE* I, 1138). There is also the letter of Symmachus (*Epist.* 8.60) addressed to a Servius, although it tells us very little in itself, even if it is our Servius who is named. The meaning and value of the reference to Servius as *Servius magister urbis*, found in one branch (the later) of the tradition of the ps.-Acro scholia to Horace at *Serm.* 1.9,76, are similarly uncertain.

¹⁹ See most recently the long discussion of F. S. Pedersen, "On Professional Qualifications for Public Posts in Late Antiquity," *C&M* 31 (1976) 161 ff (= *Late Roman Public Professionalism*. Odense University Classical Studies vol. 9 [Odense 1976]), and Hopkins (above, n.7). The third attribute ordinarily joined with *vita* (*mores*) and *doctrina* would be *genus*; where *genus* is lacking as positive ground for commendation, the other two naturally tend to be stressed all the more heavily.

Further, as one of the components of *honestas*²⁰ and a mark of *gravitas*,²¹ *verecundia* both guarantees one's *bonum pectus* and guides one's behavior in a way appropriate to one's social station. Servius is not, strictly speaking, overawed by the company but expresses in his own form of self-effacement the regard necessary to maintain the proper distinction between himself and the *nobiles*. There is not a little about Servius that is reminiscent of Horace's description of his relations with Maecenas;²² and it is significant that Servius is alone (apart from Macrobius)²³ in remarking on both the learning and the nobility of the gathering, and in advancing both as the cause of his reverential behavior.²⁴ As the aristocratic ideal presumes that one who is a gentleman by birth has his *nobilitas* as his passport into the world of learning, so one who is not a gentleman by birth needs his learning to enter the world of the *nobiles*. The positive aspect of this complementary relationship has been well noted by John Matthews;²⁵ but the negative aspect, the precarious position of the learned man with no claim of birth, is also discernible, in an incident which places Servius at the mercy of the man who most consistently refuses to play by the rules, whose role it is to attempt to strip away the protective fabric of the ideal: Evangelus. In the second book, it comes Servius' turn to tell a joke. Consistent with his behavior throughout, he hesitates momentarily *per verecundiam* (2.2,12); and as a result of his *verecundia*, he is subjected to the harshest of Evangelus' personal attacks:

"omnes nos" inquit Evangelus "impudentes, grammatices, pronuntias,

²⁰ Cf. Cic. *De off.* 1.93 *sequitur ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et rerum modus cernitur*; see also esp. *De off.* 1.148 *Cynicorum vero ratio tota est eicienda: est enim inimica verecundiae, sine qua nihil rectum esse potest, nihil honestum.*

²¹ Cf. Gellius 1.24,4, on the epitaph of Pacuvius, *epigramma Pacuvii verecundissimum et purissimum dignumque eius elegantissima gravitate.*

²² Hor. *Epist.* 1.7,37 f *saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque / audisti coram . . .* with *Serm.* 1.6,56 ff, on Horace's introduction.

²³ In his introduction, 1.1,1 *nobilitatis procures doctique alii.*

²⁴ 1.4,4 (the preamble to his first entry into the dialogue) *licet . . . in hoc coetu non minus doctrina quam nobilitate reverendo magis mihi discendum sit quam docendum, famulabor tamen arbitrio iubentis* (viz. *Symmachi*). Cameron correctly observes ("Date" 34 n.65) that "it is natural to bracket Macrobius with Servius, but it must be remembered that Macrobius is not a mere grammaticus, but a high imperial official." The social distinction is also noted, but the social situation quite thoroughly misunderstood, by Türk (above, n.11) 334 ff.

²⁵ *Arist.* 372, observing that Macrobius' phrase (above, n.23) is meant to imply "not so much that the nobles were not necessarily learned . . . but that learned men were not necessarily aristocrats."

si tacere talia vis videri tuitione pudoris, unde neque tuum nec Dysarii aut Hori supercilium liberum erit a superbiae nota, ni Praetextatum et nos velitis imitari."

The outburst is an extraordinary breach of etiquette, made particularly ugly by Evangelus' choice of Servius as his target, the man least likely to defend himself. With its several distortions, it is an effective piece of characterization, conveying the mean and sardonic turn of Evangelus' mind: he willfully misinterprets Servius' *verecundia* as *superbia*, gratuitously includes in his broadside the innocent Dysarius and Horus, who are simply waiting to follow Servius in the *ordo* (see further below), and demands that Servius imitate his betters, although his own consistent refusal to imitate the attitudes and behavior of the group is the most distinctive characteristic of Evangelus. But the specific point of interest here is the use of *grammaticae*, its tone controlled by the same threatening sarcasm that warps the passage as a whole: what would be a straightforward recognition of the grammarian's *splendida ars* when put in another man's mouth is twisted by Evangelus into a sneer at something he regards as a *sordida professio*.²⁶ The bare vocative, a distillation of Evangelus' contempt for Servius' profession ("schoolteacher"), becomes the taunt of a bully, an insult comparable in its force to another of Evangelus' favorite terms of abuse, *Graeculus*. It tells Servius that here at least is a man who will pay no heed to any claim of social position derived from his skill.

The real social distinctions that underlie the bullying of Evangelus must be compared with the *instinctive* nature of Servius' own behavior, for the latter is a point of fundamental importance for the full elaboration of Macrobius' ideal. The modest place occupied by Servius in the social scheme of the dialogue is not depicted as imposed from without, but is assumed spontaneously and "naturally."²⁷ The same is true, moreover, of the rest of the company, as can best be seen at two places where the proceedings shift from random conversation or the continuous exposition of an individual to a different form: 2.2,1-15, where

²⁶ For the distinction, see Donatus at Ter. *Ad.* 210 (3 Wess.) *fere qui in sordidis professionibus agunt, honorifice proprio nomine appellas, at [in] splendidis artibus constituti gaudent artis nomine nuncupari, ut "imperator" "orator" "philosophus."* Evangelus would regard the phrase *sordida professio* as virtually a tautology, *splendida ars* as an oxymoron: presumably he and Donatus (in whose presentation the *leno* and the *miles* are types of the *sordida professio*) would have disagreed over the proper categorization of *grammaticus*: cf. Donatus at *Ad.* 288 (4 Wess.), for the examples *magister, medicus, orator*, similar to the honorific *imperator, orator, philosophus* above.

²⁷ Cf. 7.11,1 of Servius: *naturali pressus ille verecundia*.

each of the company takes his turn in telling a joke handed down from antiquity, and 7.4,1 ff, where each member has the opportunity of consulting the physician Dysarius. In each place, the existence of a fixed *ordo* is noted specifically;²⁸ in each place, the gathering falls into the *ordo* spontaneously; and in each place, the *ordo* is essentially the same (with two interesting variations) and clearly hierarchical, determined by a combination of social status and the dignity of one's learning:²⁹

	2.2,1-15		7.4,1 ff
2.2,1	Praetextatus	7.4,1	Praetextatus
2.2,4	Flavianus	7.6,1	Flavianus
2.2,5	Symmachus	7.7,1	Symmachus
2.2,6	Caecina Albinus	7.8,1	Rufius Albinus
2.2,7	Rufius Albinus	7.8,7	Caecina Albinus
2.2,8	Eustathius	[-- → Eustathius -- --]	
2.2,9	Avienus	[-- -- Evangelus ← --]	
2.2,10	Evangelus	7.10,1	Eusebius
2.2,11	Eusebius	7.11,1	Servius
2.2,12	Servius	7.12,1	Avienus
2.2,14	Dysarius	7.13,1	Horus
2.2,15	Horus	(Dysarius serves as <i>consultus</i>)	

In the first series the *ordo* proceeds from Praetextatus through the remainder of the *nobiles* to the philosopher Eustathius; the young man Avienus and the uninvited noble Evangelus follow, succeeded by the two remaining representatives of the literary culture, the rhetor and the grammarian (Servius thus standing last among the invited guests), and finally, the two other uninvited guests, the physician and the Cynic. The second series mirrors the first, with two significant changes:³⁰ Avienus places himself farther down in the *ordo*, as the last of the invited, an act consistent with the alteration of his behavior in the

²⁸ Both times when Servius' hesitation interrupts the flow of the proceedings: 2.2,12 *inter haec cum Servius ordine se vocante per verecundiam sileret . . .*, and 7.11,1 *his dictis cum ad interrogandum ordo Servium iam vocaret . . .*; and cf. 7.9,27, n.32 below.

²⁹ Marinone (above, n. 12), 35, notes the existence of the *ordo*, taking it to be evidence of a "gerarchia" — not strictly true in itself, and certainly not the whole truth: for the criteria according to which the *ordo* is determined, we might compare Tac. *Germ.* 11, on the *auctoritas* of the German chiefs: *mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur*. If *decus doctrinae* is substituted for *decus bellorum*, the list is directly applicable to the standing of each of the members of the *ordo* here.

³⁰ Apart, that is, from the reversal of the two Albini, who in any event are treated as interchangeable, in their role as interpreters of *antiquitas*, throughout the work. Since Dysarius is the center of attention, he is not part of the *ordo* here.

dialogue, which is more "forward" in the earlier books and more docile in the later;³¹ and Evangelus characteristically and self-consciously thrusts himself ahead of the philosopher, Eustathius, to follow the other *nobiles*.³² The ability (or in Evangelus' case, inability) of each member instinctively and automatically to define and assume his proper place in the group is the essence of *verecundia*. And it is that quality, traced through its various ramifications, which dominates the dialogue.

For as a virtue, *verecundia* is not and cannot be limited to Servius. Almost immediately after Servius enters, exhibiting his own appropriate brand of *verecundia* (1.2,15), there is the example of Caecina Albinus, and his behavior on being asked by Praetextatus a question of antiquarian concern (the precise starting point of the holiday). Praetextatus anticipates and forestalls Caecina's urge to beg off *per verecundiam*,³³ and Caecina prefaces his answer with a typical scruple (1.3.1):

cum vobis . . . nihil ex omnibus quae veteribus elaborata sunt aut ignoratio neget aut oblivio subtrahat, superfluum video inter scientes nota proferre. sed ne quis me aestimet dignationem consultationis gravari, quidquid de hoc mihi tenuis memoria suggesserit, paucis revolvam.

In his modest *recusatio*, which praises the acumen of the group while dissimulating his own, Caecina speaks quite in the manner of one of the participants in a dialogue of Cicero, Crassus, perhaps, speaking in the presence of Antonius (*De or.* 1.171):

verecundius hac de re iam dudum loquor, quod adest vir in dicendo summus, quem ego unum oratorem maxime admiror . . .³⁴

In general terms, Caecina's tone is part of the gentility, the *urbanitas* often noted as an element in the dialogue.³⁵ But more precisely, in

³¹ On Avienus' place in the work, see pp. 243 ff.

³² For the self-conscious element, cf. 7.9,27, the conclusion of Evangelus' interruption: *sed Eustathio iam cedo, cui praeipui consulendi locum* (Eustathius, having regained his place, yields to Eusebius, for reasons which become apparent later on; see pp. 240 ff); Evangelus had previously attempted to disrupt the proceedings entirely at 7.5,1, after Praetextatus' initial question, but was deflected.

³³ 1.2,20 *quia te quidquid in libris latet investigare notius est quam ut per verecundiam negare possis* . . .

³⁴ Note, however, that the clause which follows (*sed tamen idem hoc semper ius civile contempsit*), with its passing hit at Antonius, is notably alien to the tone of the *Saturnalia*; see further p. 238 f.

³⁵ See, for example, the remarks of F. Klingner, "Vom Geistesleben im Rom des ausgehenden Altertums" in *Römische Geisteswelt*⁴ (Munich 1961) 528, and H. Bloch in Momigliano (above, n.11) 208, both comparing the tone of Cicero's dialogues.

terms of the *communal* effort of the symposium, the hesitancy of self-assertion derives from a modest selflessness, which is inspired in turn by one's confidence in the group as a whole. Like *verecundia* and the *ordo* which it shapes, this chain of responses is a natural growth, free from ulterior motives or pressures. There is implicit throughout the dialogue a distinction comparable to the one which Ammianus Marcellinus draws between *adulatio* and *verecundia* in his mordant description of Petronius Probus (30.5,4 *non ut prosapiae suae claritudo monebat, plus adulationi quam verecundiae dedit*)³⁶: the distinction between a servility that is artificial and hypocritical, because self-interested and ostentatious, and a self-restraint that is both unpretentious and unselfish. Each of the participants claims that he does not need to instruct the gathering, being merely *doctus inter doctos*, while each proceeds nonetheless with his instruction, with an assurance derived from his own sense of place within the *ordo* and within his own area of expertise.³⁷ This modest but ultimately secure selflessness of the guests, quite as much as the concern with Virgil, is the unifying element of the dialogue. This unity is obviously facilitated, although not made inevitable, by the choice of the dialogue form; and the self-consciousness with which Macrobius insists upon his choice of form suggests that more is at stake than a gesture of homage to heroes of the past generation or the creation of a mnemonic device.³⁸ As we shall see in greater detail, the values and behavior elaborated in the dialogue become the well-spring of the dialogue's substance. Macrobius chose to make a virtue out of a fact of life: the fragmentation of knowledge, the *atomisme psychologique* described by H.-I. Marrou as endemic to the world of late antiquity³⁹ is redeemed here, not because knowledge is coordinated and redirected toward some new synthesis, but because it is endowed with the unity of the social order. The behavior of the participants goes beyond the polished good manners of *urbanitas*, to become inseparable from, and as important as, the information conveyed.

³⁶ Cf. the caution of Symmachus, *Epist.* 9.88,1 *olim te mihi fecit optabilem cultu fama litterarum tuarum, sed diu officium scribendi per verecundiam distuli, ne in aula positum viderer ambire; cuius morbi ita crebra est adfectatio, ut diligentes existimationis viri pro alienis vitiis erubescant.*

³⁷ For the apportionment of the discussion of Virgil (*velut ex symbola*) among the participants, according to their individual expertise, see 1.24,14–20.

³⁸ Homage: see esp. 1.1,4; dialogue form as an aid to memory: 1 *Praef.* 3.

³⁹ The burden of the first section of *Augustin*, 1–157; see also the remarks of J. Vogt, *Der Niedergang Roms: Metamorphose der Antiken Kultur* (Zürich 1965) 403 f.

To begin to appreciate this last point, we must look for a moment beyond the behavior of the guests and their attitudes toward each other. The purely social side of *verecundia* is somewhat static and two-dimensional; but an added dimension of depth is gained, and the intellectual aspect of *verecundia* begins to become more evident, when Macrobius projects the values and restraints of his ideal social order further into the past, using those elements as a means to understand the workings of *historia*, the cultural tradition. Thus, it is significant that we find almost precisely the same terms as those applied to Servius at his entrance (*iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia*) used to describe Virgil early on in the dialogue, even before his poetry has been made the central subject of the occasion (1.16,44, Eustathius' addition to Praetextatus' discourse on the calendar):

item poeta *doctrina ac verecundia nobilis*, sciens Romanos veteres ad lunae cursum et sequentes ad solis anni tempora digessisse, *utriusque saeculi opinioni reverentiam servans*, "vos quoque" inquit (G.1.6 f) "labentem caelo qui ducitis annum / Liber et alma Ceres," tam lunam quam solem duces anni hac invocatione designans.

The *verecundia* here attributed to Virgil clearly consists of the willingness to preserve his past, and blend it with his present, expressing due *reverentia* for *both*. That both past and present are involved should be emphasized especially: the feelings of *verecundia*, when turned to history, are not presented as demanding servile prostration before the past to the exclusion of the present, just as the same feelings, in the area of the social order, are distinct from the servile behavior of *adulatio*. Virgil's role in the process of cultural continuity corresponds to the role of the individual guest in the process of the symposium: the place of the individual should not be underestimated in either case, whether that place is viewed in historical terms (relative to past *saecula*) or in social terms (relative to the hierarchical *ordo*). The behavior of Virgil, as one both *verecundus* and *doctus*, is paradigmatic and embodies a constant concern of the dialogue. Consider, for example, the single most frequently cited sentence of the work: *vetustas quidem nobis semper, si sapimus, adoranda est*. That opinion of Rufius Albinus (3.14,2) is usually quoted as a simple distillation of the work as a whole. But in its context it is only the first half of a single thought, a necessary expression of good will before the *equally necessary* criticism which follows: the thought is completed in the assertion that the present age has rid itself of some of the moral flaws (a catalogue follows) which accompanied the

"abundance of virtues" of the old.⁴⁰ "Respect," in other words, includes self-respect, and *verecundia* does not exclude self-confidence — *provided* (the crucial point) one has precisely and knowledgeably defined one's relationship to the whole, either one's own relationship to the social order, or the collective relationship of one's times to history: it is not coincidental that the criticism of *vetustas* in Book 3 is produced by the Albinus, the experts in *antiquitates*. The fine line between *reverentia* and *adulatio* consists of the quiet knowledge of one's virtues and limitations and the lack of self-interest that derives from a satisfaction with both. Criticism can be offered, where warranted, but as a simple matter of fact, not as a cause for self-aggrandizement (cf. Caecina Albinus at 3.13,16). Competition becomes inappropriate, in fact pointless: the dominant attitude of the work in this regard might be expressed in the words of Horace, his correction of the would-be social climber, *nil mi officit, inquam, / ditior hic aut est quia doctior: est locus uni / cuique suus* (*Serm.* 1.9,50 ff). Thus, in introducing the topic of Virgil's literary borrowings, Rufius Albinus adduces the anecdote of Afranius (6.1,4):

Afranius enim togatarum scriptor in ea togata quae "Compitalia" inscribitur *non inverecunde respondens* arguentibus quod plura sumpsisset a Menandro, "fateor" inquit

sumpsi non ab illo modo
sed ut quisque habuit conveniret quod mihi,
quod me non posse melius facere credidi,
etiam a Latino.

quod si haec *societas et rerum communio* poetis scriptoribusque omnibus inter se exercenda concessa est, quis fraudi Vergilio vertat, si ad excolendum se quaedam ab antiquioribus mutuatus sit?

This defense of "borrowing" evidently looks as much to Macrobius' own time — and beyond literature, to the context of the *Saturnalia* — as it does to Virgil's literary practice: it is noteworthy that in the entire treatment of literary imitation not only is the competitive element entirely absent, the *ἀγών* emphasized by both ancient and modern readers,⁴¹ but the *verecundia* of Afranius is set at the head of Rufius'

⁴⁰ The section on the correction of *vitia* follows from a section of Book 3 now lost (between 3.12 and 3.13), in which the Cynic Horus had delivered an *obiurgatio* on the vices of the present age (cf. 3.13,16); the exposition of the Albinus is a defense against that attack, cf. n.64 below.

⁴¹ See M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*, Hermes Einzelschriften 24 (Wiesbaden 1972) 2 and n.3 with p. 7 f. (although in the latter place *Sat.* 6.1,6 is included, incorrectly, to illustrate the idea of *certatio*; on that passage, where something rather different is involved, see p. 250 with n.93).

discussion, as one example to typify the whole.⁴² A sense of literary imitation as a form of cultural piety is by no means unique to Macrobius and has not gone unremarked in modern treatments of the subject; but there is more which deserves notice. It has been observed, for example, that the awareness of imitation as a form of "structural" or "thematic" allusion is virtually absent from ancient discussions of Virgil's borrowings (in Macrobius and elsewhere),⁴³ an absence due, at least in part, to the concentration of education and criticism on verbal effects. This is quite true. But one might also suggest that if the idea of such imitation were explained to Macrobius, he would not have been much impressed. The modern interest in "theme" and "structure" is essentially an interest in the idiosyncratic workings of the particular poet's mind, while Macrobius' interest in imitation is broader and less personal: literary borrowing conceived of as the preservation of and expression of respect for the *societas et rerum communio*, the "unified community" of the shared culture extending into the past, just as the intellectual "borrowing" among the participants in the symposium is a means of recognizing and affirming the order, the "unified community," of the present. Although based on rhetoric, the idea of literary imitation found in the *Saturnalia* goes beyond rhetoric to become a moral imperative, and so forms one of the links between the dialogue's substance and its form: the harmony and continuity that result when a Virgil or an Afranius turns his *verecundia* to the past mirror the harmonious workings of the symposium. "Thus in every aspect of life," says the philosopher Eustathius (7.1,13), "and especially in the happy surroundings of a gathering such as this, all that seems discordant must — provided decency is preserved — be reduced to a single harmony." The metaphor of harmony proceeds from the metaphor which opens Book 7 (the whole is borrowed from Plutarch): Symmachus, responding to the suggestion of Praetextatus that the group consider philosophical questions, doubts that the *verecundia* of philosophy could tolerate the possible dissonance (*strepitus*) of such a discussion (7.1,2):

verumne ita sentis, Vetti, ut philosophia convivii intersit et non tamquam censoria quaedam et plus nimio reverenda materfamilias penetralibus suis contineatur, nec misceat se Libero, cui etiam tumultus familiares sunt, cum ipsa huius sit *verecundiae* ut *strepitum* non modo verborum sed ne cogitationum quidem in sacrarium suae quietis admittat?

⁴² 6.1,3, introducing the anecdote: *unum nunc exemplum proferam, quod ad probanda quae adsero paene sufficiet.*

⁴³ See Wigodsky (above, n.41) 8, with Additional Note A, p. 140 f.

He is assured by Eustathius that, like the *societas* of a chorus, the *societas* of their group will provide the harmony demanded by philosophy's *verecundia*, so long as the *periti* outnumber the *imperiti*.⁴⁴ The metaphor of the chorus, with the key and melody set by the whole (which either drowns out the discordant voices or influences them for the better) and with individuals now and again picking up the solo that responds to the harmony of the whole, is evidently suited not only to the gathering but to the relationship between past and present.⁴⁵ The *societas* of the symposium enjoys a reciprocal relationship with *verecundia*, on the one hand encouraging and rewarding it, on the other governed and preserved by it. Just so, the *societas et rerum communio* of the past culture, against which the poet, for example, defines himself, both sets limits which are freely acknowledged and finds preservation in his work. Both the *societas* and the individual are well served.⁴⁶

It is, however, not completely accurate to say that the *una concordia* of the present order, and the relationship of past to present, is preserved by *verecundia*. *Verecundia* is the impulse, *doctrina* (or *prudencia*, *scientia*, *peritia*) the result: what mediates between the two, and so between the past and present, is *diligentia*, the care and maintenance required for keeping in touch with one's culture. The relationship among these qualities is triangular: proceeding from one's sense of *verecundia*, the quality of *diligentia*, when applied, produces *doctrina*, which in turn is properly channeled by *verecundia*, to avoid the unrestrained arrogance of learning.

Diligentia involves a willingness to extend oneself, to behave with energetic scrupulousness in performing one's duty. So, for example, confidence in Virgil's *diligentia* stands behind the judgment which finds him *doctrina ac verecundia nobilis* (1.16,44): the poet's *verecundia* inspires feelings of *reverentia*, but those feelings would be still-born if the poet did not exert himself to translate "respect" into "learning."

⁴⁴ 7.1,9 *primum hoc eam scio servaturam, ut secum aestimet praesentium ingenia convivarum, et si plures peritos vel saltem amatores sui in convivii societate reppererit, sermonem de se patietur agitari, quia velut paucae litterae mutae dispersae inter multas vocales in societatem vocis facile mansuescunt, ita rariores imperiti gaudentes consortio peritorum aut consonant siqua possunt, aut rerum talium capiuntur auditu*. The metaphor of the chorus is a commonplace: see esp. Aelius Aristides in *Romam* 29 (the Roman state as chorus, the emperor its leader), cf. 31,32,87.

⁴⁵ With the qualification, *salva innocentia* ("provided that decency is preserved"), cf. the assertion of moral improvement at 3.14,2 noted above.

⁴⁶ Cf. Tacitus on Agricola (*Agr.* 8.3) *ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat*.

It is precisely this same confidence in Virgil's monumental exertions that stands behind the initial defense of the poet against the sneers of Evangelus, the point of departure for the main theme of the dialogue (1.24, 1 ff). Implicitly and explicitly, the company is called upon throughout "to marvel at the deeply hidden workings of the poet's *diligentia*," through which bits of the past are preserved in his work.⁴⁷ But the *diligentia* of the poet is not sufficient by itself. It must strike a responsive chord in the reader: as the poet "reveals his own *diligentia*" in his work, so the reader is called upon to be *diligens* in his turn⁴⁸ — in essence, to prove himself worthy of the poet. This is the relationship to the text that underlay the *enarratio* of the grammarians in their schools, the method that produced a habit of mind, an attention to detail, which calls forth metaphors of the jeweler's loup or the art historian's magnifying glass in modern descriptions;⁴⁹ and it is a technique responsible in part for the fragmentation of knowledge referred to earlier. But it should be evident that *diligentia*, in the context of the *Saturnalia*, can not simply, or even primarily, be an intellectual quality: like its inspiration, *verecundia*, it is a moral quality, part of one's duty to the culture. That duty is particularly of the sort felt to exist among *friends*: it is recapitulated in the area of late antique social relations, where *diligentia* serves as the adhesive of *amicitia*. The *diligens* poet stands in relation to the past, and the *diligens* reader stands in relation to the text, much as one *amicus* stands in relation to another, bound by obligations which are met through *diligentia*, or the related quality of "reverent scruple," *religio*.⁵⁰ But the moral aspect of *diligentia* is made apparent negatively as well, in the language of coercion that accompanies the criticism of its absence. When, for example, Eustathius (5.21, 1 ff) comes to treat the various names for cups used by Virgil, he notes that some are familiar enough, but (5.21, 2)

⁴⁷ 5.18, 15 *in qua quidem re mirari est poetae huius occultissimam diligentiam*, cf. 5.18, 18 *animadvertitis diligentissime verba Euripidis a Marone servata*.

⁴⁸ Cf., framing one section of Praetextatus' discourse: the poet *diligentiam suam pandit* (3.5, 1), and the *diligens lector* must do his share (3.5, 10).

⁴⁹ Text as a string of pearls, studied one by one: Marrou *Augustin* 25; text as canvas studied under the glass: P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967) 36. Compare the sarcasm of Seneca, *Epist.* 58.5 *non id ago nunc hac diligentia ut ostendam quantum tempus apud grammaticum perdiderim* . . .

⁵⁰ Cf. Symmachus, *Epist.* 9.15, 2 *tandem igitur partes religionis exequere, ut exemplo diligentiae tuae in officiorum vicissitudinem provocemur*. On *religio* in the letters of Symmachus, see esp. E. Wistrand, "Textkritisches und Interpretatorisches zu Symmachus" in *Symbolae Philologicae Gotoburgenses*, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis 56 nr. 3 (1950) 87 ff. Cf. also n.61 below.

de carchesiis cymbiisque, quae apud Latinos haud scio an umquam reperias, apud Graecos autem sunt rarissima, *non video cur non cogantur inquirere* quid sibi nova et peregrina nomina velint.

"I do not see why they are not *compelled* to inquire," *compelled* to do their duty: "they" are the *grammatici*, who come in for particular criticism for their failure of *diligentia*.⁵¹

As a moral quality conducive to harmony and order, *diligentia* can and in fact must be distinguished from *ingenium*, the idiosyncratic "genius," with its rough edges. So, for example, one finds the negative criticism of Virgil at 5.17. There Eustathius marks off as defective certain sections of the *Aeneid* which Virgil, barred by his subject matter from following Homer, fashioned out of his own imagination; he observes; *maluissem Maronem et in hac parte apud auctorem suum (viz. Homerum) vel apud quemlibet Graecorum alium quod sequeretur habuisse*. This remark is capable of being misunderstood, if read out of context. It is not a straightforward and objective criticism of Virgil's *ingenium*,⁵² but is conditioned by the predispositions of the dialogue: based on the distinction between *fama* (= *historia*) and *facta* drawn, for example, by Horace,⁵³ and involving a profound preference for the former, the criticism follows, in the context of the dialogue, from the a priori judgment that any exercise of *ingenium* is bound to be viewed as less successful and rewarding than an application of *diligentia* which finds a way of translating the past, in the form of *auctoritas*, into the present. The moral bias that accompanies the critical bias is plain in a related passage, another attack on the *grammatici* (5.22, 11 ff):

in tertio libro cursim legitur, neque unde translatum sit quaeritur (A.3.251 f), "quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo / praedixit," et cetera. *in talibus locis grammatici excusantes imperitiam suam inventiones has ingenio magis quam doctrinae Maronis adsignant, nec dicunt eum ab aliis mutuatum, ne nominare cogantur auctores*.

The attribution to *ingenium* rather than *doctrina* (Eustathius goes on to claim Aeschylus as the source) is presented as a way for the grammarian to shirk his own responsibility: note again the language of coercion, in *cogantur*. In the terms of the dialogue, such a recourse to *ingenium* is simply a shoddy schoolteacher's trick. It is the equivalent of aspersing

⁵¹ See all of 5.18–22, and below on 5.22, 12.

⁵² As it is taken to be by Wigodsky (above, n.41) 6, who remarks that the criticism appears to be "uncharacteristic . . . of ancient ways of thought."

⁵³ A.P. 119 ff, with Brink's comments, esp. p. 196 (on Horace's own preferences) and p. 197 (on the relation between Horace's opposition of *fama* and "fiction" and the usual, tripartite division, *historia* / *verisimile* / *factum*).

the poet's *verecundia*, of asserting that he has failed to perform the duty owed to the *societas et rerum communio*, in order that the grammarians' own lack of *diligentia* — and so their *imperitia* — may be concealed.

The exercise and celebration of *diligentia* extends over all the areas covered in the guests' treatment of Virgil. Fragmentary and unhistorical (by our lights), the form of exegesis found here is common enough, and its effect is certainly evident. The text readily becomes a pool of Narcissus: in admiring the poet's *occultissima diligentia* one is admiring one's own.⁵⁴ But it should be pointed out that, however common the basic method may be, seldom if ever in antiquity is the dissimulated arrogance of this form of interpretation so clearly and self-consciously integrated in a social and ethical scheme. With proper *verecundia*, one can hardly believe that the poet would be ignorant of what one knows oneself,⁵⁵ and so one gladly submits to the poet's awesome knowledge and skill, and cooperates in making plain his virtues; and with the awareness of one's own virtues that is also part of *verecundia*, the implicit self-assurance, derived from one's sense of place, that allows one to instruct the learned, one shapes the poet's meaning according to one's own particular *diligentia* and *doctrina*. There is in this approach to the text something reminiscent of Gibbon's description of the governmental practices of Augustus and his lieutenants, who "humbly professed themselves the accountable ministers of the senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated and obeyed";⁵⁶ although the duplicity that animated Gibbon's irony is not in the least apparent in the *Saturnalia*, the resemblance is probably not fortuitous. For what is interesting is not that Virgil is assumed to possess exquisitely comprehensive knowledge and extraordinary skill: although not infrequently treated as peculiar to late antiquity, this assumption — the foundation of the method of ζήτημα (*quaestio*) and λύσις (*solutio*) and of the encyclopedic function of the text in the grammarian's school — was an interpretive principle already ancient by the fourth and fifth centuries, and its application to Virgil in an extreme form is traceable to within a generation or two of his death.⁵⁷ Nor is it the case that Virgil, or *vetustas* in general, can do no

⁵⁴ With 5.18,15 (quoted above, n.47) cf. 3.10,1 *hic cum omnes concordii testimonio doctrinam et poetae et enarrantis* (sc. *Praetextati*) *aequarent* . . .

⁵⁵ Cf. 5.18,21 . . . *nam ut haec ignoraverit vir tam anxie doctus minime crediderim*.

⁵⁶ E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London 1909) ch. 3, p. 75.

⁵⁷ A case in point is the scholium of Servius, ultimately derived from Julius Hyginus, on the phrase *velati lino* at *A.* 12.120: Hyginus contended that Virgil did not write (i.e., could not have written) *lino*, which (i.e., because it) would have involved an error in ritual practice, but wrote *velati limo* instead. On the

wrong: they both certainly can, and each has its own defects and limitations. The point is rather that Virgil — like the participant in the symposium — is a part of an *ordo*, a *societas* that can do no wrong: the perfection lies in the whole, and in the cooperation and coordination of its parts, whatever the limitations of any one part may be. The obligations and goals of the individual — of Virgil as of the guest — are the same in each case: the resonance of past and present achieved by Virgil when he is at his best in the concerted application of *verecundia*, *diligentia*, and *doctrina* cannot help echoing, in the historical dimension, the harmony produced when those same virtues are at work in the ideal society of the dialogue. The historical process, represented by the cultural continuity realized in Virgil's poetry, is at one with the social process represented in the symposium. The values of the one are precisely the values of the other; and it is assumed that Virgil, quite as much as a member of the symposium's *ordo*, would appreciate the hierarchical and noncompetitive nature of those values. So in his relation to Homer, the area in which he most clearly does "do wrong" (5.13 ff), the gathering is assured that Virgil could, with undamaged *verecundia*, admit his inferiority to his *auctor*.⁵⁸

Woven together from the commonplace and the tralatitious, the dialogue is the product of the same values as those it conveys: it is a study in convention profoundly appreciated and made internal. The indivisibility of social, moral, and intellectual qualities that make the *Saturnalia* a kind of cultural *de officiis* of late antiquity offers an ideal that is far from despicable in its unity and coherence. It is this vision that inspires a recurring motif in the behavior of the group: the gracious confidence of the smile that turns away distressing controversy.⁵⁹ That smile is a small detail, barely more than a reflex where it appears;

practice of Hyginus, with its strong suggestion of attempted textual tampering based on a piece of *recherché* knowledge attributed to Vergil, see most recently J. E. G. Zetzel, "*Emendavi ad Tironem*: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 237 f. For a variation on this approach, again involving Hyginus, cf. Gellius 10.16.

⁵⁸ Equally significant is the fact that a *synkrisis* of Homer and Virgil, whose relative positions of overall superiority and inferiority are fixed, can be undertaken without qualms and without the suggestion of competition, while the invitation to Eusebius (5.1,3 ff) to perform a *synkrisis* of Cicero and Virgil, who are essentially equals, is refused as unsuitable.

⁵⁹ For a participant responding to an ignorant objection or criticism with a smile (*renidens*), see 1.4,4 (Caecina to Avienus), 1.11,2 (Praetextatus to Evangelus), 3.10,5 (Praetextatus to Evangelus), 7.7,8 (Symmachus to Horus), 7.9,10 (Dysarius to Evangelus), 7.14,5 (Eustathius to Dysarius).

but perhaps precisely because it is a reflex, it provides, in its nature and object, one of the more direct clues to Macrobius' imagination. It is, for example, quite unlike the smiles found in the dialogues of Cicero. While men beam urbanely from those pages too, they do so in a context of give-and-take, where the smile is an instrument of amused debate and rejoinder⁶⁰ or accompanies ironic banter.⁶¹ The smile of Macrobius' characters, however, is a signal that debate is being shut off and is the opposite of bantering: it is Olympian, the smile of a Jupiter speaking from a position of certain knowledge to calm the unwarranted fears and complaints of a Venus (*A.1.254 f.*).⁶² The only man who beams in the *Saturnalia* is the expert; and not just the expert, a type whose smile recurs elsewhere in the literature of the period,⁶³ but the expert *who has been challenged* precisely in his area of expertise. A smile invariably follows some lapse in *verecundia* — some ignorant criticism or other faux pas — and invariably precedes a pronouncement which admits no contradiction. Moreover, apart from the volatile *adulescens* Avienus, the only figures who receive the smile are the three uninvited guests: by implication, these are the only figures who are subject to such lapses and who therefore need the smile to remind them where they stand. There is something chill in these gestures of magnificent condescension, which simultaneously put the offending party in his place and affirm the status of the speaker. The smiles are not easy and open, like those in Cicero, but are part of the massive effort of (self-)control that is another side of Macrobius' ideal: beneath their serenity and graciousness, the smiles, like the ideal, are a bit brittle. They conceal an inflexibility comparable to that found in the criticism of Virgil's *ingenium*. When the men of the dialogue see in Virgil a man "so anxiously learned" (5.18,21 *tam anxie doctus*), they necessarily see much of themselves: for if the *Saturnalia* offers a vision of an ideal unity, it is a vision which exacts, as the price of that unity, an anxious defensiveness which underlies, and ultimately belies, the self-confident surface. An attack upon one part is an attack

⁶⁰ Cf. *De or.* 1.74, 1.134, *n.d.* 3.1, *De fin.* 1.26; see also Tac. *Dial.* 11, *remissus et subridens*, of Maternus in his reply to Aper.

⁶¹ Cf. esp. *Brutus* 42: an amused Atticus allows Cicero some leeway in a matter of historical detail, a point of "scruple" (*religio*, cf. *Brutus* 44); see also *De or.* 1.265, *Acad.* 2.63, 2.148, *De fin.* 2.119, 5.86.

⁶² Note that the lone passage in Cicero's dialogues which approximates to the tone of Macrobius occurs in *De rep.* 6.12, the serene smile of Scipio, calming the distress felt by his companions at the presage of his death.

⁶³ For the smile of the wise man, resolving an apparent discrepancy and revealing the truth, see for example the philosopher Eustathius in Eunap. *Vit. soph.* 466 (= p. 27,19 ff Giangrande).

on the whole and on the underlying social fabric. A vulnerability of this kind is virtually admitted at the outset, when the morose comments of an outsider (Evangelus) are in effect allowed to govern the rest of the proceedings, as the "invited" close ranks around Virgil. But Evangelus, who exults in his status as an "outlaw," is treated thereafter simply as an irritant; he never seriously disturbs the surface calm of the gathering. More revealing is an incident which occurs at the end of the (extant) dialogue, involving another of the guests who, although not originally among the invited, has nonetheless functioned throughout as one of the group, the physician Dysarius.⁶⁴

Dysarius has been entertaining questions from the group when the philosopher Eustathius, who had postponed his turn,⁶⁵ begins by taking issue with an explanation just given by Dysarius (7.13,21): *ne decipias, quaeso, credulum qui se quaestionemque suam commisit fidei tuae*. The point is that the doctor, in laying down an opinion on a matter of "physics" (*physica ratio*), had flown in the face of *verecundia*: he had overstepped the boundaries of his expertise, made an error, and so violated the trust of his position. Eustathius sets the matter straight and, to drive his point home, draws Dysarius even farther out of his depth by asking why images appear larger when reflected in water than they are in actuality (7.14): when Dysarius produces the opinion of Epicurus in response, Eustathius counters with a smile (*renidens*) and a correction (7.14,5 ff). Eustathius clearly is wearing the white hat in this encounter: his refutation of Dysarius is presented as carrying such conviction that for the first and only time in the dialogue even Evangelus is moved to join the rest in admiration.⁶⁶ But Dysarius is otherwise moved. He first responds, with some ill-temper, that philosophy (that is, Eustathius) has often been lured by applause into fields alien to its expertise and so fallen into error, and then goes on to mention an error of Plato to illustrate his point (7.15,1 *ut Plato vester dum nec anatomica quae medicinae propria est abstinere, risum de se posteris tradidit*, concluding 7.15,13 *vides satius fuisse philosophorum omnium principi alienis abstinere quam minus nota proferre*). *Plato vester*, meaning "the Plato of

⁶⁴ As in the matter of the smile, dissent on fundamental issues is expressed only by Avienus and the three uninvited guests: Evangelus, obviously; Dysarius, in the incident about to be considered; and the Cynic Horus, who scolded the gathering on the licence of the age, thus eliciting the rebuttal of the Albini (see above n.40; and cf. n.20, for the opposition of the *Cynicorum ratio* to *verecundia* at *de off.* 1.148).

⁶⁵ Cf. above n.32.

⁶⁶ 7.15,1 *his dictis favor ab omnibus exortus est admirantibus dictorum soliditatem, adeo ut attestari vel ipsum Evangelum non pigeret*.

you philosophers," gives the game away and betrays Dysarius' basic misunderstanding of the situation:⁶⁷ believing the areas of knowledge to be separate but equal, and open to mutual criticism (a belief encouraged by the claim of each participant to be merely *doctus inter doctos*, and allowed to serve as the reality so long as it is innocuous), he is unaware that philosophy, as "parent" of medicine, can criticize it, although the option of criticism is not open to medicine. Eustathius, naturally, is appalled, equally by the attack on philosophy and by the ignorant singularity of Dysarius' opinion, flying as it does in the face of the consensus of humankind (7.15,14):

ad haec Eustathius paulo commotior "non minus te" inquit "Dysari, philosophis quam medicis inserebam, *sed modo videris mihi rem consensu generis humani decantatam et creditam oblivioni dare*, philosophiam artem esse artium et disciplinam disciplinarum: et nunc in ipsam invehitur *parricidali ausu* medicina . . ."

The language, obviously, is very strong, and continues in that vein, with medicine termed the *physicae partis extrema faex* (7.15,15). Eustathius, after denouncing medicine for its empiricism and defending the *Platonica maiestas*, concludes (7.15,24): *cum igitur et ratio corporeae fabricae et testium nobilis auctoritas adstipuletur Platoni, nonne quisquis contra sentit insanit?*

The lines in the incident are drawn unambiguously: the defense is produced, and Dysarius' criticism is turned back, in tones of brute certainty wholly foreign to the episode in Plutarch on which Macrobius relied.⁶⁸ No rebuttal is made, or can be made, to Eustathius' reproof.

⁶⁷ Expressions similar to *Plato vester* found elsewhere either indicate the native language of the speaker (e.g., in *Cicerone vestro*, spoken by the Greek Eusebius at 5.1,4) or express a kind of cultural alienation (so Evangelus speaks of Virgil as *hic vester* at 3.11,3): in the mouth of the Greek Dysarius *Plato vester* approaches the second meaning. The person who raises the objection against Plato in the passage of Plutarch on which Macrobius drew (*Quaest. conviv.* 698A ff) is also a physician, Nicias; but the form which Dysarius' words take, a slap at philosophers as a group, is entirely Macrobius' own.

⁶⁸ The initial denunciation of Dysarius by Eustathius (7.15,14-17) has no parallel in Plutarch and must be counted a free invention by Macrobius; with Eustathius' forceful and unequivocal conclusion (7.15,24), contrast the much gentler and more flexible conclusion in Plutarch (*Quaest. conviv.* 700B), where the criticism of Plato is deprecated, but — or rather, *because* — the matter is treated as an *open question*, incapable of certain solution: *εἰκότα γὰρ μακρῶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐκείνων· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἴσως ἀληπτον ἐν γε τούτοις, καὶ οὐκ ἔδει πρὸς φιλόσοφον δόξῃ τε καὶ δυνάμει πρῶτον οὕτως ἀπαυθαδίσασθαι περὶ πράγματος ἀδήλου καὶ τοσαύτην ἀντιλογίαν ἔχοντος.*

When immediately thereafter Evangelus tries to bring the discussion down to the absurd by asking "which came first, the chicken or the egg?" (7.16,1), the earnest answer which his question receives from Dysarius only serves to emphasize the rapidity with which the surface calm is restored, the controversy put away as though it never happened; and when Evangelus, true to his disruptive tendencies and sensing an opportunity to continue the quarrel, maliciously asks Eustathius to comment on Dysarius' reply,⁶⁹ Eustathius simply praises Dysarius' answer as brilliantly and truly spoken and adds some detail. It is in the midst of the appendix that the text breaks off.

The manner in which Dysarius is put in his place is the most brutal example in the dialogue of its hierarchical values and their connection with the maintenance of the *societas*, the *una concordia*, the reinforcing harmonies of past and present. The alternative to *verecundia*, and the consequences of an outright refusal to define oneself in terms of the *ordo* of society and history, is made plain: it is a charge of madness.

It would no doubt be incorrect to take *insanit* absolutely literally; but there is no mistaking its force, or the harsh contours of the situation in which it is set. In the metaphor of the chorus,⁷⁰ Dysarius' is the dissonant voice that is drowned out. As such, his experience may usefully be compared with a similar confrontation which occurs at the start of the symposium and which leads us back to where we began, with the grammarian Servius.

The central figure in the incident is the *adulescens* Avienus, the one participant whose character undergoes a development in the course of the dialogue. The change, and its motivations, are both distinct and important. Were Macrobius given to allegory, Avienus would be designated "Youth guided in the Ways of Maturity"; for his youthfulness serves a purpose in the dialogue beyond that of mitigating any anachronism caused by his inclusion.⁷¹ Avienus is a young man on the threshold of culture: he has already read his Virgil (the minimum expected of an *adulescens*, achieved while still a *puer* in the grammarian's school and forming the basis of the questions put to Servius at 6.7,1 ff)

⁶⁹ 7.16,19 *his dictis Evangelus Eustathium intuens, "si rationi dictae adsentiris" ait "annuas oportet: aut si est quod moveat, proferre non pigeat, quia vis vestri sermonis obtinuit ne invita aure vos audiam."*

⁷⁰ Cf. 7.1,9 and p. 233 f above.

⁷¹ On the anachronism, cf. Cameron "Date" 29 f; for his identification with the fabulist and friend of Macrobius, Avianus, see Cameron's arguments, "Macrobius, Avienus, and Avianus," *CQ* 17 (1967) 386 ff (with the small adjustment offered by C. E. Murgia, "Avienus's Supposed Iambic Version of Livy," *CSCA* 3 [1970] 186).

but is imagined as still pondering the course of proper rhetorical training (5.1,2). Although he is really a decent sort, endowed with *verecundia* and so essentially knowing his place and his limits,⁷² he nonetheless demonstrates a certain youthful exuberance in the earlier books, interrupting the conversations or, with excessive enthusiasm, equating Praetextatus with Socrates.⁷³ Yet this exuberance melts away — or, perhaps, is more properly channeled — in the later books, where, with perfect docility, he successively places himself at the feet of the rhetor Eusebius (5.1,2 ff), Servius (6.7,1 ff), the philosopher Eustathius (7.2,1 ff) and the physician Dysarius (7.12,1 ff).⁷⁴ In the last instance his eagerness to learn is made the subject of an apology, as he puts to Dysarius as many separate questions (fourteen) as all of the seven preceding guests combined.⁷⁵ In this exercise of *verecundia* and *diligentia* his submission to the values of the gathering is complete. The change in his behavior is epitomized in his adoption of a new and lower place in the *ordo*; ⁷⁶ and the last words we hear him speak in the work are the simple and affecting, *quia ignoro scire cupio* (7.12,28).

Avienus is molded in the course of the dialogue: the transformation he undergoes is especially significant, for if recent arguments concerning his identity are correct, Avienus may be taken to symbolize an actual, living link between the age of Praetextatus and Macrobius' own.⁷⁷ To refer once more to the metaphor of the chorus, Avienus represents one of the *imperiti* who is influenced for the better by the harmony of the whole. His *imperitia* is a function of his youth and will not, his behavior implies, remain long, unlike that of Evangelus, whose ignorance has

⁷² See 1.7,17, where he refers Horus, who has asked him a question on a point of ritual, to Praetextatus, with the remark that "although all of these men are equally potent in learning (*pari doctrina polleant*)" (note his use of the third person plural, by implication excluding himself), Praetextatus can serve Horus best; and 1.24,20, where he avoids arrogating to himself a particular expertise in their discussion of Virgil, and reminds the company to include Servius in the division of labor.

⁷³ See 1.6,3 (*tum Avienus — ut ei interpellandi mos erat . . .*) and 2.3,14 ff, where he interrupts Symmachus and is told by Horus to wait until Symmachus has finished; and 2.1,2 ff, for the comparison of Praetextatus with Socrates, which is deprecated by the older man.

⁷⁴ Note the comment of Eustathius at 7.3,23: *mi Aviene, instituenda est enim adulescentia tua, quae ita docilis est ut discenda praecipiat . . .*

⁷⁵ Cf. 7.12,22 *ni molestus tibi sum, Dysari, patere plus nimio ex discendi cupidine garrientem, et dicas quaeso cur . . .*, and the self-effacement with which he begins his questions, 7.12,1 *quia me ordo . . . ad similitudinem consultationis adplicat . . .*

⁷⁶ See above, p. 228.

⁷⁷ See above, n.71, and below, p. 260.

become inveterate and warped him entirely; and both Avienus' age and his ignorance are at issue in the noteworthy episode which first introduces Avienus to the reader, and first brings Servius to speak. At 1.4.1, the conclusion of Caecina Albinus' discourse on the actual starting point of the Saturnalia, Avienus is discovered whispering to Rufius Albinus. Prompted to speak, Avienus expresses puzzlement at certain expressions used by Caecina:

moveor quidem auctoritate Caecinae, nec ignoro errorem in tantam non cadere doctrinam; aures tamen meas ista verborum novitas perculit . . .

The actual usages involved are *noctu futura* for *nocta futura*, *die crastini* for *die crastino*, and *Saturnaliorum* for *Saturnalium*. With fine politeness, in other words, couching his thought in euphemism (*novitas*) and in expressions of regard for the older man's *auctoritas* and *doctrina*, Avienus asks why Caecina has committed two solecisms and a barbarism.⁷⁸ Caecina replies with a smile and silence (1.4.4 *cum Caecina renidens taceret*), and Servius is asked by Symmachus to provide the required defense: after remarking on the nobility and the learning of the gathering, he replies that Caecina's expressions involved not *novitas* but *vetustas*. With an obliqueness corresponding to Avienus' politeness, Servius thus informs the young man that the fault was not Caecina's but his own: in effect, Avienus' own ignorance has led him to mistake the ancient and respectable for the untoward and flawed.⁷⁹ Servius goes on to give a detailed account of all these expressions, with Symmachus and Praetextatus adding a few observations at the end as tokens of their own expertise (1.4.5–27). Avienus immediately responds (1.5.1 ff) with a blast at Servius worthy of Evangelus, denouncing the foolishness of speaking a bygone language (note that at the outset Macrobius specifies, *Avienus aspiciens Servium*, lest it be thought that the subsequent comments, quite rough by the standards of the dialogue, are directed at the last speaker, Praetextatus). The remarks are drawn largely from Gellius (1.10) and are worth quoting in their entirety (in the following I have not indicated Macrobius' minor alterations of his source; in the two major deviations or expansions, Macrobius' words are

⁷⁸ The solecisms would be the phrases *die crastini* and *noctu futura* and the barbarism the form *Saturnaliorum*, according to the traditional distinction between a fault in the juncture of words and a fault in an individual word, respectively; cf. Avienus at 1.4.3.

⁷⁹ With Servius at 1.4.4, *insinuabo primum de Saturnalibus, post de ceteris, unde sit sic eloquendi non novitas sed vetustas*, cf. the words of Caecina at 6.4.1, on *verba quae nobis nova videri facit incuria vetustatis*; and see further below, pp. 248 ff and n.94.

set on the right-hand side of the page, Gellius' on the left)⁸⁰ (1.5,1-3):

"Curius" inquit "et Fabricius et Coruncanus antiquissimi viri, vel etiam his antiquiores Horatii illi trigemini plane et dilucide cum suis fabulati sunt: neque Auruncorum aut Sicanorum aut Pelasgorum, qui primi coluisse in Italia dicuntur, sed aetatis suae verbis loquebantur: tu autem proinde quasi cum matre Evandri nunc loquare,

sermone abhinc multis annis iam desito uteris, quod scire atque intellegere neminem vis, quae dicas. nonne, homo inepte, ut quod vis abunde consequaris, taces?

vis nobis verba multis iam saeculis oblitterata revocare, ad quorum congeriem praestantes quoque viros, quorum memoriam continuus legendi usus instruit, incitasti.

sed antiquitatem vobis placere iactatis quod honesta et sobria et modesta sit: vivamus ergo moribus praeteritis, praesentibus verbis loquamur. ego enim id quod a C. Caesare, excellentis ingenii ac prudentiae viro, in primo Analogiae libro scriptum est habeo semper in memoria atque pectore, ut 'tamquam scopulum sic fugiam infrequens atque insolens verbum.'

mille denique verborum talium est quae cum in ore priscae auctoritatis crebro fuerint, exauctorata tamen a sequenti aetate repudiataque sunt. horum copiam proferre nunc possem, ni tempus noctis iam propinquantis necessariae discessionis nos admoneret."

Avienus' final words (the addition of Macrobius) provide the point of departure for the reproof delivered by Praetextatus.⁸¹ The protocol involved is significant: whereas Caecina first replied to Avienus with his silent smile, the details of the defense being left to the grammarian (with the token embellishments of Symmachus and Praetextatus), this

⁸⁰ One minor change by Macrobius is worth noting: where Gellius writes (1.10,3) *antiquitatem tibi placere ais*, Macrobius has *antiquitatem vobis placere iactatis*, making the verb stronger and ruder.

⁸¹ 1.5,4 "*bona verba quaeso*," Praetextatus *moralis ut adsolet gravitate subiecit*, "*nec insolenter parentis artium antiquitatis reverentiam verberemus, cuius amorem tu quoque dum dissimulas magis prodis. cum enim dicis, 'mille verborum est,' quid aliud sermo tuus nisi ipsam redolet vetustatem?*" In Praetextatus' last sentence there is hidden a return charge of solecism: since Avienus plainly did not intend to follow *vetustas* in saying *mille verborum est*, he used the abnormal construction without being *sciens*, without *peritia* — the decisive factor in such matters (cf. Pompeius *GL* 5.292,13 ff); Praetextatus' correction is expressed with a politeness suitable to his general theme, that one can not help but be imbued with antiquity, and is the equivalent of saying, "Of course you realize . . .," when one really means, "Obviously you don't realize . . ."

second defense, explicitly raising a fundamental issue, the relationship between modernity and antiquity, is not entrusted to Servius (although he has been the object of attack) but calls forth the most revered member of the group. Moreover, Praetextatus' own position in the *ordo* (in effect, that of *rexque paterque*) is consonant with the metaphors through which he expresses his reproach: again weaving his own words with those of Gellius, Macrobius causes Praetextatus to begin with a warning against cultural matricide (*nec insolenter parentis artium antiquitatis reverentiam verberemus*) and to conclude by urging against cultural parricide,⁸² placing his own words at beginning and end, with the substance of his statement, a chapter (substantially rearranged) of Gellius, set in between (1.5.5-9 ~ Gell. 1.16). The intended effect is one of *gravitas* (1.5.4 *Praetextatus morali ut adsolet gravitate subiecit . . .*), paternal and hence different from the more emotional and unrestrained tone of Eustathius' reproof of Dysarius: but in both instances the metaphors chosen run in the same direction and reveal the same turn of mind that is involved.⁸³ A failure of *verecundia* stands behind the behavior of both Dysarius and Avienus, each of whose reach is found to exceed his grasp of his social, intellectual, and historical position: as the doctor failed in his responsibility by venturing beyond his area of expertise and then responded to correction with a misconceived and ill-tempered assault on the hierarchical position of philosophy relative to medicine, so Avienus went beyond the limits established by his age and *imperitia*, first venturing to correct (albeit politely) his elder and better, Caecina, then responding to correction with a rude assault on the relationship (also hierarchical) of antiquity and modernity.

This first appearance of Avienus can be viewed as the bench mark against which his measure is to be taken in the rest of the dialogue. Presenting the unformed and, at first, self-assertive young man as the spokesman for contemporary usage was both an obvious and a useful thing for Macrobius to do; and Macrobius consciously exploited the potential of the situation in his adaptation of Gellius. Whereas Gellius' chapter purports to be a rebuke aimed by the sophist Favorinus at the affectations of an *adulescens casce nimis et prisce loquens* (1.10 *praef.*), Macrobius has turned the situation around. The pupil here rebukes the teacher: it is precisely Servius' expertise and professional (that is,

⁸² 1.5.10 *tamquam sexagenarios maiores de ponte deicies?* (incorporating the proverb).

⁸³ With the metaphors of parricide, and antiquity as the *parens artium*, at 1.5.4 and 1.5.10, cf. Eustathius at 7.15,14, on philosophy as the *ars artium* and the *parricidalis ausus* of Dysarius.

didactic) function that are attacked in the first passage in which Macrobius deviates from his source. "You have goaded even (these) men of great stature, whose storehouse of memory [*memoria*, here virtually = *doctrina*] has been built by constant reading, to heap up" words which have been "rubbed out" and "cashiered" and "spurned" by the advance of time. According to Avienus' charge, the grammarian is a purveyor of the obsolete, an opponent of a commonsense distinction between current language, *praesentia verba*, and old-fashioned (that is, gentlemanly and sober and moderate) behavior.

The discontinuity between language and *mores* urged by Avienus obviously cannot be tolerated in a setting whose system of values so consistently blurs the distinction between social behavior and broader cultural attitudes. The point that should be emphasized, however, is that Avienus' fault lies not so much in his regard for the modern as in his one-sided regard, which would exclude the past; conversely, what Praetextatus urges is not a simple clinging to the archaic, but the coexistence of past and present, with the limits of the latter's freedom determined by a proper respect for the former. The importance of this linguistic controversy, the coda to the dialogue's beginning, for Macrobius' ideal of cultural continuity and social harmony should not be underestimated. One point especially should be stressed. Although the defense of archaic usage attains in Macrobius a pitch of moral fervor rarely, if ever, matched by, say, Gellius, there does not exist the complementary judgment that the language has somehow been corrupted and become impure: nowhere in Macrobius is there the suggestion found so often in Gellius that what is "commonly used" or "nowadays used" (*vulgo dicitur, modo dicitur*) represents a debasement of the language, an ignorant deviation from the more refined standard of the past. In language as in *mores* (cf. 3.14,2), a sense of decline is entirely absent, nor should such a judgment even be anticipated, for two related reasons. First, an approach such as that found in Gellius would be inconsistent with the noncompetitive ethic that dominates the dialogue. The perception of decline, especially in linguistic matters, is often a thinly veiled form of contentiousness, a question of "us" (the few) against "them" (the many). Charges of debasement and deviation usually function quite explicitly as manoeuvres in a contest for prestige: thus the claim of a Gellius, that a given debased usage is characteristic of the "run of the mill" (*vulgus*), is invariably complemented by the claim that Gellius himself knows the more ancient, hence pure and superior, usage. Such explicit attempts to assume a place among an elite have little in common with the dominant tone of the dialogue: as we shall see

presently, when the participants in the dialogue most clearly deprecate contemporary practices and attitudes, they do so without drawing a distinction between themselves and some generalized *vulgus*. Second, a judgment of decline would represent a violation, as serious in its own way as that of Avienus, of that aspect of *verecundia* which demands a commitment to the present. The values implicit in the confrontation begun by Avienus find their clearest expression in the praise of Virgil's *verecundia* at 1.16,44, his *reverentia* for both his past and present and his careful blending of the two; and it is precisely those values which Avienus comes fully to share in the course of the dialogue. Yet, while Avienus grows, the opinions which he first represents do not simply go away. Rather, the ideas associated with the immature Avienus at the dialogue's beginning recur later on and are generalized, to stand as typical of the age.

In the course of explaining one of Caecina's expressions (*noctu futura*), Servius has occasion to appeal to the *auctoritas* of Ennius (1.4,17): *Ennius enim — nisi cui videtur inter nostrae aetatis poliores munditias respuendus — “noctu concubia” dixit . . .* In the immediate context of the dialogue, Servius' oblique and parenthetical defense of Ennius must be understood to be directed at the recipient of his teaching, Avienus;⁸⁴ the defense thus anticipates the rude rejection (cf. *respuendus*) placed in Avienus' mouth on the following page. It has been observed, moreover, that Servius' remark is the first of a series of references to the diminished status of the older Republican authors.⁸⁵ Yet the treatment of these passages has tended to direct attention away from their role in context to a debate over their utility as clues to Macrobius' sources: does the contempt registered in these passages suggest the use of sources traceable to the first century, when disdain for the older poets ran high?⁸⁶ Or are these passages authentic witnesses to the tastes of Macrobius' own time, whatever the provenance of his

⁸⁴ Note the parallel constructions in the two sentences which open 1.4,17 *verba quae Avieno nostro nova visa sunt . . .*, and: *nisi cui videtur inter nostrae aetatis poliores munditias respuendus*; in this connection it might be noted that Servius is capable of a kind of modest irony in the performance of his duty: at 1.4,8 just preceding, he remarks that he will proceed with his explanation of *Saturnaliorum*: *quatenus alienum non est committi grammaticum cum sua analogia*.

⁸⁵ See esp. Rufius Albinus at 6.1,5, on the older poets *quos, sicut praesens sensus ostendit, non solum neglectui verum etiam risui habere iam coepimus*, and at 6.3,9.

⁸⁶ G. Regel, *De Vergilio poetarum imitatore testimonia* (diss., Göttingen 1907) 36; E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilus: Kriegsbilder aus Roms grosser Zeit* (Leipzig 1915) 4.

sources?⁸⁷ This debate has tended to misplace the emphasis found in the passages. The expressions of contempt and the assertions of an increased refinement can clearly be shown to reflect the tastes of the late fourth and fifth centuries; but equally clearly, these passages do not serve as just another document of the age,⁸⁸ noteworthy and unexpected in so staunch a "friend of the past" as Macrobius.⁸⁹ The sentiments are introduced so that their force might be mitigated and their consequences regretted.

Those twin effects are very plainly the intent of Servius' remarks to Avienus at the outset of the dialogue (1.4,17); and the intent remains when the attitudes first associated with "callow youth" are extended in the dialogue to include the attitudes of the age as a whole. In the preamble to his discussion of *versus* and *loci* adopted by Virgil from the older poets (6.1-3), Rufius Albinus has occasion to remark (6.1,5):

[Vergilio] etiam gratia hoc nomine habenda est quod non nulla ab illis in opus suum, quod aeterno mansurum est, transferendo fecit ne omnino memoria veterum deleatur, quos sicut praesens sensus ostendit, non solum neglectui verum etiam risui habere iam coepimus.

"As current taste indicates, we have begun not only to neglect but even to mock" the older poets. The remarks immediately follow the anecdote of Afranius and his sense of *verecundia* before the *societas et rerum communio*;⁹⁰ and it is at once apparent that these words (whether read in their immediate context, or with reference to Praetextatus' reproof of Avienus, or with an ear to the values of the dialogue as a whole) are not simply descriptive, much less complacent. Rufius speaks not of the literal and limited "we" of this gathering, but of the universal "we" of this age, who submit to the dictates of modernity, the "current taste" (*praesens sensus*). There was an opportunity here to project the regrettable tendencies onto a straw man, the *vulgus*, and thus to exculpate the members of the symposium. The opportunity was not taken. The first person plural is inclusive and acquires, in its inclusiveness, a penitential

⁸⁷ H. D. Jocelyn, "Ancient Scholarship and Virgil's Use of Republican Latin Poetry. I," *CQ* 14 (1964) 283 f, with Wigodsky (above, n.41) 7 n.24.

⁸⁸ For the lack of distinction, see esp. Wigodsky (above, n.41) 6 f, where the remarks of Rufius at 6.1,5 (above, n.85) are quoted, as simply "another witness" to the late antique bias.

⁸⁹ Cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte röm. Lit.* (Munich 1920) IV.2, p. 312 n.11, with Rufius at 6.1,5 quoted once again and the remark: "Im Munde des Freundes der Vergangenheit ist die Bemerkung doppelt bemerkenswert."

⁹⁰ See above, p. 232.

edge. The behavior of *nos* is contrasted with that of Virgil, whose virtue in giving a place to the older poets in his work is consonant with the *verecundia* of Afranius and with the behavior attributed to Virgil throughout: the attitude described by Rufius is at once acknowledged as a thing shared with his contemporaries, and deprecated. This nuance, and the thought behind it, becomes dominant in the similar remarks with which Rufius closes his exposition (6.3,9):⁹¹

nemo ex hoc viles putet veteres poetas, quod versus eorum scabri nobis videntur. ille enim stilus Enniani saeculi auribus solus placebat, et diu laboravit aetas secuta ut magis huic molliori filo adquiesceretur.

Rufius' warning is put in the form of two pairs of distinctions: the distinction, first, between the quality of the poetry and the status of the poet; and the distinction between the aesthetic standards of a given era and the historical process that bridges the gap between different eras. The warning contained in the passage is at one with the moral aspect of cultural duty that informs the work: it is a warning against the complacency inspired by a sense of progress, the arrogance of the modern untempered by feelings of humility before the dignity of personal achievement (*nemo . . . viles putet veteres poetas*) and the labor of generations (*diu laboravit aetas secuta*). Underlying the warning is the conviction that the supremacy of aesthetic preference, of taste and appearance (*sensus, videntur*),⁹² with its connotations of the subjective, the arbitrary and the idiosyncratic, fuels the kind of behavior opposed to social and intellectual *verecundia*: self-assertion rather than selflessness, competition rather than cooperation, ambitious scorn rather than confident contentment with one's own place, superficial criticism rather than diligent inquiry and service. It is not that aesthetic preference has no room to operate (judgments will be made willy-nilly).⁹³ Rather,

⁹¹ Note that in the case of Rufius' exposition (6.1-3), as in Praetextatus' rebuke of Avienus (1.5,4-10), the borrowed substance — here, the compilation of *versus* and *loci* — is framed by moralizing passages typical of Macrobius: there is no reason to think that Rufius' opening and closing remarks are any less the invention of Macrobius than were those of Praetextatus.

⁹² Cf. Eustathius' denunciation of the empiricism of medicine at 7.15,15, with p. 241 above.

⁹³ So Macrobius (in the person of Rufius), comparing the results of Virgil's imitation with the poetry of the older authors, 6.1,6: *denique et iudicio transferendi et modo imitandi consecutus est ut, quod apud illum legerimus alienum, aut illius esse malimus aut melius hic quam ubi natum est sonare miremur*; although the improvement is noted, there is not the least suggestion of a "competition"; cf. n.41 above.

aesthetic preference, when allowed to dominate, demands too high a price: it subordinates the overall unity of the culture and its history to mere impressions that are transient by nature and fragmenting in their effect. The awareness of the cost is expressed in the often-quoted words of Servius (6.9,9, responding to a question put by Avienus): "Because our age has fallen away from Ennius and the whole store of ancient authors, *we are ignorant* of many things which would be clear if we were used to reading the ancients."⁹⁴

There is nothing in the judgments on the older poets that is extraordinary or inconsistent with Macrobius' service as "friend of the past." Rather, there is something askew in the perception of Macrobius' friendship extending solely to what is past. It would be more accurate, because more inclusive, to call him the "friend of unity and continuity," or even (by the lights of his own literary culture) the "friend of history." As we have seen above,⁹⁵ Macrobius' vision and concern, expressed in the metaphors provided by the literary culture, include both past and present; and if his emphasis falls so heavily on the past, that emphasis may be in part intended to redress a perceived imbalance.⁹⁶ Macrobius' bias is profoundly conservative but not reactionary. His intention is not to negate the present and its (precariously maintained) culture through a blind embrace of the past (a negation which would itself involve a loss of *verecundia*), but to demonstrate how men of the present might fulfil their moral duty by making room for, cooperating with, and, when proper, deferring to the past, as the right-thinking men of the symposium cooperate with and defer to each other. It was both the historical and the social process that interested Macrobius as much as the substance or the product; and it was the single-minded emphasis on the product, with little regard for both the persistence and fragility of the process, that Macrobius found disturbing in his age (it is a minor irony that Macrobius' work has so often suffered from a similar critical bias). As is evident from Avienus' outburst, such an emphasis was perceived as having the effect of throwing up barriers between the past and present, and of thus threatening the continuity of *historia*, as surely as the process of the symposium imagined by Macrobius would

⁹⁴ 6.9,9 *quia saeculum nostrum ab Ennio et omni bibliotheca vetere descivit, multa ignoramus, quae non laterent si veterum lectio nobis esset familiaris*; with the *incuria veteris lectionis* diagnosed by Servius at 6.9,9 (*bene . . . haec tibi quaestio nata est ex incuria veteris lectionis*) compare Caecina at 6.4,1, on *verba quae nobis nova videri facit incuria vetustatis*, and see n.79, on the terms of Servius' correction of Avienus.

⁹⁵ See above, pp. 231 ff.

⁹⁶ See the conclusion, pp. 256 ff.

be threatened if the actual social barriers between the aristocracy and the other participants were observed. It was Macrobius' chosen fiction that in Roma Aeterna both temporal and social distinctions, while quite real, did not need to be made explicit and ought not be regarded as barriers: out of the combined modesty, confidence, and contentment of *verecundia* individuals would *naturally* maintain the proper perspective and position of trust in both spheres.⁹⁷

The fiction created by Macrobius suggests not so much a "culture running hard to stand still," but a culture which chooses not to outrun its past; the difference is significant. It is possible to judge the attempt futile *post eventum*, and to see in the fiction a desire to escape into a "mirage of permanence";⁹⁸ but one suspects that such judgments come a bit too easily with the remove of fifteen hundred years. There is, moreover, one area in the dialogue where Macrobius' ideal unquestionably comes into contact with contemporary reality: the dangerous divorce between language and culture that underlies the outburst of Avienus, his correction by the firm and paternal Praetextatus, and the approach to the older poets in the passages just considered. This divorce results from modernity's arrogance of exclusion and its concern only with the surface; and Macrobius was certain of where the blame lay for the separation of language from its broader cultural base. The fault was that of the educational system and, more exactly and explicitly in the terms of the dialogue, of the first stage in liberal studies, the school of the grammarian. It is precisely the sort of disjunction elsewhere condemned by Macrobius that animates the most extended criticism of the *grammatici*, set in the mouth of Symmachus, just at the moment when the company, goaded by Evangelus, choose Virgil as the object of their communal effort. After citing Virgil's letter to Augustus as documentary evidence of the *studia potiora* which the poet felt compelled to impart to his work (I.24,11), Symmachus goes on (I.24,12-13):

nec his Vergilii verbis copia rerum dissonat, quam plerique omnes litteratores pedibus inlotis praetereunt tamquam nihil ultra verborum explanationem liceat nosse grammatico. ita sibi belli isti homines certos scientiae fines et velut quaedam pomeria et effata posuerunt, ultra quae si quis egredi audeat, introspexisse in aedem deae a qua mares absterrentur existimandus sit. sed nos, quos crassa Minerva dedecet, non patiamur abstrusa esse adyta sacri poematis, sed arcanorum sensuum investigato aditu doctorum cultu celebranda praebeamus reclusa penetralia.

⁹⁷ For the crack in the fiction's facade, when perspective is lost and trust violated, cf. above on Eustathius and Dysarius, pp. 240 ff, and below, p. 262.

⁹⁸ "Mirage of permanence": so Markus (above, n.13) 11, writing under the influence of (and somewhat misapplying) Brown's metaphorical description of the *Saturnalia* ([above, n.49] 301).

This passage on the *grammatici* (= *litteratores*) carries the sting of any of Seneca's snipings, if for precisely opposite reasons. The orientation and activity of "those fine fellows" is expressed in terms of their fixing boundaries which isolate them on the periphery (*certos scientiae fines et velut quaedam pomeria et effata posuerunt*, which, when blended with the metaphor of the *aedes deae*, produces the image of the grammarians' standing on the outside looking, or rather, refusing to look in). The grammarians' treatment of the text as though it were a shrine is presented as a means of self-protection: behind the impulse to "enshrinement" lies the grammarians' awareness of their own inadequacy. The grammarians are morally and, as a result, intellectually deficient. To apply the values of the dialogue, they lack *diligentia*: they have "unwashed feet."⁹⁹ This dallying on the margins of language and the refusal to go to the core of the *copia rerum*, the "history" in the broadest cultural sense, makes the grammarians' teaching insufficiently nourishing for the young entrusted to them and (an equally important point, given Macrobius' moralizing emphasis) makes their own behavior an unsuitable example. The grammarians described by Macrobius have violated the trust placed in them as mediators standing at the critical point in the cultural process.¹⁰⁰ They have established the boundaries, the "enshrinement" of the text is their own, created as an excuse for not approaching its substance. Two very important points are involved here. First, the metaphor of the text as "shrine" (of the Bona Dea!), complete with *pomeria*, *adyta* and *penetralia*, the metaphor often plucked from its context to exemplify the worshipful attitude of Macrobius,¹⁰¹ is developed as part of the caustic comment on the *grammatici*, to describe *their* approach to the text and is thus used to describe precisely the way in which the text should *not* be treated: it is the purpose of the company

⁹⁹ Cf. Gellius 1.9,8, where the proverb is used to stigmatize the arrogance of those who "nowadays" (the contrast is with the *familia* of Pythagoras) seek to study philosophy without the necessary preparation: *nunc autem . . . isti, qui repente pedibus inlotis ad philosophos devertunt, non est hoc satis, quod sunt omnino ἀθεώρητοι, ἄμουσοι, ἀγεωμέτρητοι, sed legem etiam dant, qua philosophari discant*; and cf. 17.5,14, concerning a misconceived criticism of Cicero, where *inlotis, quod aiunt, pedibus* indicates the proverbial flavor of the phrase. With the lack of *diligentia* attributed to the grammarians here, cf. the other attacks on the grammarians, for the same reasons, noted above, p. 235 f.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 220 f.

¹⁰¹ E.g., Klingner (above, n.35) 529, quoting only the second part of Symmachus' statement (*sed nos . . . non patiamur . . .*), and observing, inconsequently: "Man sieht, es handelt sich um eine Art Mysterium: die Auslegekunst wird, wie damals oft die Wissenschaften überhaupt, 'Mystagogie' . . ., Führung der Seele zu einer heiligen verborgenen Schau." Cf. Döpp (above, n.10) 632.

to lay bare the "shrine" and "de-mystify" the text.¹⁰² For (and this is the second point) the grammarians' violation of their trust consists in the construction of barriers, unnecessarily and self-servingly. The poet's achievement may indeed be a *sacrum poema*; but if so, it is *sacrum* in exactly the same way as the culture of the distant past, which the poet incorporated in his work, and the society of the present, whose values the poet is presumed to have shared. The "sacred" is available directly and naturally through the exercise of the appropriate, simple virtues: it does not need to be, and ought not be made mysterious and absurdly remote, endowed with an artificial awesomeness which makes it inaccessible. As such, the grammarians' violation of their trust is similar to, yet different from, that of the physician Dysarius in Book 7: whereas the latter *stepped beyond* his area of expertise (with the consequences noted above), the *grammatici* willfully *stop short* of what their position demands of them. This is Macrobius' perception of a literary education posing a threat to the literary culture it was meant to serve. This understanding of a threat from within, so to speak, does not appear on the surface as the controlling idea of the work, rather the opposite: Macrobius is concerned to have the bold face of unity dominate. But it provides an important motif in its appearances in the dialogue and may, in fact, be understood to have contributed significantly to the inspiration of the work as a whole.¹⁰³ It certainly inspired the idealized portrait of Servius, who is explicitly excepted from the *plebeia grammaticorum cohors* (Symmachus' phrase at 1.24,8), to stand as the type of "good" grammarian. To use the metaphors of the grammarian's function with which we began this study: Macrobius insists that the combined service as both *custos sermonis* and *custos historiae* is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. The functions cannot be divided without damage to both. Hence Servius, in the latter guise (at 6.9,9), is made to remark on the growth of ignorance resulting from the neglect of antiquity; and as *custos sermonis*, the conservator of the language and agent of its continuity, he instructs Avienus in the antiquity of the language (1.4,5-25) in order that (as Avienus' contempt impels Praetextatus to point out) the present might extend itself to maintain living contact with the past. Servius' performance in the two roles is conducted with impeccable harmony and virtue: *iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia*.

¹⁰² For the idea of "mystery" specifically raised and dismissed, cf. Praetextatus to Evangelus at 1.7,5 ff. In the irony directed against the grammarians from which the metaphor proceeds — as in all of his response to Evangelus in 1.24 — Symmachus' tone is coolly superior, not prostrate.

¹⁰³ See below, 258 ff.

III

Such, at least, was Macrobius' fiction. When one reads the commentary of Servius after turning from the *Saturnalia*, two related facts come to be appreciated in quick succession: first, the degree to which Macrobius' portrait of Servius is in fact an idealization bearing little relation to the real Servius; second, that Macrobius' criticism of the education provided in the grammarian's school is scarcely the tendentious exaggeration of a sentimentalist.¹⁰⁴ It has long been recognized that the details of what Servius is made to say in the dialogue bear no direct relation to — and in some cases plainly contradict — what he says in the commentary;¹⁰⁵ and it is generally agreed that Macrobius did not use Servius as a source but probably had recourse to the variorum commentary of Donatus.¹⁰⁶ Given the traditional freedom of the dialogue form exploited by Macrobius to attribute to other participants attitudes and opinions they are unlikely — or are known not — to have shared, it is not surprising that Servius is accorded the same treatment.¹⁰⁷ But the differences between the ideal and the actual go far beyond differences in detail. Not only did Macrobius not use Servius as a source, but there is really very little in Servius that Macrobius would have found especially useful. Indeed, in describing the barriers created between language and culture by the grammarians, and the disproportionate attention given the former at the expense of the latter, Macrobius could easily have been writing with Servius' commentary in

¹⁰⁴ If Servius' birth is placed somewhere between A.D. 365 and 370, his professional career can be conjectured to have begun any time from five to ten years after the dramatic date of the dialogue (i.e., 389 to 394) and could have continued into the 420's (so Cameron, "Date" 31; I assume with him that Servius was dead by the time of the *Saturnalia's* composition). He taught, that is to say, during the time that Macrobius would have received his own education (although we do not know when or even where that took place) and is a representative of the type of training Macrobius would have known first hand.

¹⁰⁵ Still valuable are the discussions of Thilo, in the preface to the first volume of his edition of Servius, pp. xxi ff, and H. Nettleship in Conington-Nettleship, *The Works of Virgil*⁴ (London 1881) I, xxxi f. See also the following note.

¹⁰⁶ In addition to Thilo and Nettleship, see H. Georgii, *Die Antike Äneiskritik aus den Scholien und anderen Quellen Hergestellt* (Stuttgart 1891) 18 ff; A. Santoro, "Il Servio Danielino e Donato," *SIFC* 20 (1946) 79 ff and *Esegeti virgiliani antichi* (Bari 1946); N. Marinone, *Elio Donato, Macrobio e Servio* (Vercelli 1946); R. B. Lloyd, "Republican Authors in Servius and the Scholia Danielis" *HSCP* 65 (1961) 305 f, with G. P. Goold, "Servius and the Helen Episode," *HSCP* 74 (1969) 113 ff (both ultimately going back to Santoro).

¹⁰⁷ On the implications of the dialogue form in this regard, see Cameron, "Date" 32; for the contradiction of known views, see Cameron's remarks, *ibid.* 38, on Symmachus and slavery.

mind (although I am not suggesting that he literally did so). There is no lack of reasons to believe that Macrobius would have been more profoundly and immediately unsympathetic to the commentary than even Servius' modern readership has tended to be.¹⁰⁸ To take a fairly familiar matter, consider the general emphasis of the commentary as a whole: the mass of notes which provide purely linguistic instruction and assistance is swollen out of all proportion to other categories, involving two notes out of every three; on the other hand, only one note out of seven is concerned with cultural matters of the kind insisted upon by Macrobius, and of this small minority only another very small proportion amount to anything more than perfunctory references or allusions.¹⁰⁹ This disproportion is not to be explained by the assumption that Servius' commentary reflects an "elementary" level of instruction, while the more extensive treatment (especially of *Realien*) found, for example, in Donatus' commentary would have been destined for "advanced classes."¹¹⁰ The idea of elementary and advanced classes is itself an anachronism; and more to the point, if learning of the sort compiled by Donatus had regularly seen the inside of a classroom in even vaguely unabridged form, Macrobius' scorn for the grammarians would not have been so vivid. The imbalance of the commentary must be taken as an authentic witness to the ordinary instruction received by the sons of the upper classes who read Virgil in Servius' school.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ I mention here only a few evident examples of the differences between the two works, since the points raised in this paragraph are dealt with more fully in an article designed as a companion to the present discussion, "The Grammarian's Authority," *CP* 75 (1980) 216 ff.

¹⁰⁹ These figures, necessarily approximate, are based on a survey of the comment on all twelve books of the *Aeneid* and are in general agreement with the figures given for a similar analysis of Book 2 by R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1963) 41, with the note on p. 396. The major deviations from the proportions noted occur in Book 1, where the bulk of linguistic instruction is (not surprisingly) still greater; and in Book 6, which has (especially at the two apocalyptic speeches of Anchises) a greater density than any other of annotation dealing with myth, history (in the narrower modern sense), philosophy, religion, and literary history (Servius, in his own fashion, signals the special place of Book 6 in his preface to that part of the commentary: *totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est, in qua hic liber possidet principatum*).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Goold (above, n.106) 135; more cautiously Lloyd (above, n.106) 299 326, who speaks of Donatus' commentary as intended for the use of "more advanced scholars": see also n.111.

¹¹¹ Although Servius' work must be regarded as a simplification compared with that of Donatus, Donatus' work must in turn be regarded as (1) a *multiplication* of ordinary instruction, intended as (2) a sourcebook or reference work

Equally telling, moreover, are two features of the commentary which have been observed separately but which should be understood to be complementary: on the one hand, the large-scale suppression of references to the older Republican authors,¹¹² and on the other, perhaps Servius' largest personal contribution to his commentary, the inclusion of extensive references to the authors of the first century (Lucan, Juvenal, Statius).¹¹³ In the economy of the commentary, the two measures are part of a single process: we have here an instance of "out with the old to make room for the new." In both actions, Servius unquestionably reflects the current taste; and in the case of the former, he can be seen to further by his own teaching the very trend which the Servius of the *Saturnalia* is made to deplore (6.9,9: "Because our age has fallen away from Ennius and the whole store of ancient authors, we are ignorant...").¹¹⁴ It is evident, moreover, that in both cases

for the *grammaticus* (not, directly, for the classroom). Both of the points clearly emerge from the surviving prefatory epistle to Donatus' commentary, which describes both the method — the *munus collaticium*, drawing together the work of almost all who had previously written on Virgil (and so necessarily implying that the comment of any individual would be of much less scope than the whole produced by Donatus) — and the product, a means to "show the way and lend a hand to a *grammaticus* still wet behind the ears (*grammatico . . . rudi ac nuper exorto*)": Servius used the work in precisely the way intended by Donatus. See the remarks of Lloyd (above, n.106) 325 (although Lloyd, with a scruple that is admirable in the context of his argument but perhaps unnecessary, suggests that there were other commentaries as extensive as Donatus': I see no reason, either logical or factual, for that suggestion).

¹¹² See Lloyd (above, n.106).

¹¹³ See P. Wessner, "Lucan, Statius, und Juvenal bei den römischen Grammatikern" *PhW* 49 (1929) 296–303, 328–335, A. Cameron, "Literary Allusions in the *Historia Augusta*," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 363 ff (on Juvenal), R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) 84 ff (on Juvenal), and my own discussion, "Servius and *idonei auctores*," *AJP* 99 (1978) 181 ff. It is worth noting that among the poets whose influence was discerned by Kroll in the works of Symmachus (*De Q. Aurelii Symmachi Studiis Graecis et Latinis* [Breslau 1891] 58 ff), Statius stands third, after Virgil and (*longo intervallo*) Horace (although not all the twenty-two echoes found are compelling). Both Lucan and Juvenal are quoted by Macrobius (*Comm. somn. Scip.* 2.7,16 and 1.9,2, respectively; cf. *Comm.* 1.8,9, 1.10,12, *Sat.* 3.10,2).

¹¹⁴ Cameron, "Date" 30 n.43, recognized that Servius' use of the Silver Age authors was a reflection rather than a cause (as often supposed) of the "renaissance" which they enjoyed in the latter part of the fourth century. His reasons are chronological; I myself would be inclined to question whether any grammarian (in this period and for some time before) could be described, without considerable qualification, as initiating rather than reflecting a given fashion — a problem of the relationship between social structure and "canon" which goes beyond the scope of this article.

Servius' own learning is circumscribed by the trend it reflects: whereas the manner, the extent, and the accuracy of Servius' quotations of, for example, Plautus are such as to raise serious doubts about his familiarity with that author,¹¹⁵ the longest single quotation of any author in the commentary (nearly six lines) comes not from Virgil, or from any other of the classical *quadrige*, but from Lucan (1.412 ff at *G.2.479*). Throughout all this, and in much else in the commentary, there is evidence of the institutional imperative of Roman education understood by Macrobius: knowledge follows taste; or (to include the grammarian in the equation), knowledge follows the grammarian (as *custos historiae*), and the grammarian follows taste.

As the repeated criticisms of the grammarians testify, Macrobius consciously set his face against these tendencies in writing the *Saturnalia*. It is for this reason, among others, that I am inclined to accept as something more than mere convention Macrobius' dedication of the *Saturnalia* to his son: in fact, if a recent conjecture is correct, the boy would have been nearing the age for his own instruction in the grammarian's school at the very time that his father was composing the dialogue.¹¹⁶ If Servius' commentary is characteristic of the instruction received in the schools of Macrobius' day, and if that instruction accurately reflects contemporary tastes and interests, then the difference between the work of Servius and the work of Macrobius may fairly measure the difference between Macrobius' cultural aspirations and those of the typical man of his time and his class. There is nothing particularly odd in this suggestion by itself. It has been observed, for example, that there is an important layer of truth beneath Ammianus' polemical description of the Roman aristocracy as a group of men who read nothing but Juvenal and Marius Maximus, who hated learning like poison and kept their libraries locked tight as crypts: that truth was no doubt as valid in Macrobius' time as in Ammianus'. Not all the aristo-

¹¹⁵ See the discussion of Lloyd (above, n.106) 313 ff.

¹¹⁶ Cameron, "Date" 37, conjecturing that the son was Plotinus Eustathius, PVR in 462 (cf. Marinone [above, n.12] 20, and Flamant, *Macrobe* . . . [above, n.8] 131 f): the conjecture produces a stemma which would extend neatly down to Macrobius' grandson, the Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius whose name appears in the subscription to the *Comm. somn. Scip.* Cameron suggests that Eustathius may have been forty at the time of his prefecture, i.e., eight or nine years old at the time of the composition of the *Sat.*, if the latter event is put around 431; he could easily have been 11 to 14 years old at the time, the age at which a boy would ordinarily read his Virgil in the *grammaticus*' school, which would make Eustathius a bit older at the time of his prefecture (so Marinone), or place the time of composition a year or two after 431, or (equally possible) some combination of the two.

cracy were men of letters and patrons of the arts, and not all exerted themselves to pass beyond the anonymity and mediocrity of current fashion: "We should not be misled by the impressions created by the letters of Symmachus or by the inscriptions that show the *cursus honorum* of leading senators. Many more senatorial residents of Rome have escaped our knowledge, simply by having escaped distinction."¹¹⁷ It is from the anonymous majority, like the all but anonymous Nicaeus who read Juvenal in Servius' school,¹¹⁸ that the bulk of the grammarian's pupils would have come, the "quiet grey men" who carried with them, for better or worse, the Virgil they learned as boys.¹¹⁹ Such men Gellius would have characterized, in his own day and in his own style, as part of the *vulgus semidoctum*,¹²⁰ and it is from such men among his peers and contemporaries that Macrobius chose to set himself apart — but in terms far different from Gellius'. For the striking point is this: while choosing to set himself apart, Macrobius carefully avoids the appearance of doing so. As I have remarked above, the avoidance of competition stands at the center of the dialogue and is an integral part of the social and intellectual values that shape the work; yet at the same time, when one seeks even tentatively to place the work in its historical context, one immediately becomes aware that it is a clear and conscious attempt to rise above the general level of educated men of its day. We are confronted with a curious phenomenon, a kind of covert striving for prestige. There is an arrogance in the work, but it is clothed in a smile and directed at targets different from Gellius'. In the microcosm Macrobius constructs, the consistent objects of scorn are not the "run of the mill," the anonymous majority of the educated upper classes, but figures either of little social importance or of a singular depravity: that is, respectively, the grammarians, the *plebeia gram-*

¹¹⁷ Brown (above n.13) 95 = *Religion and Society*, p. 186; among recent discussions, see also A. Cameron, "The Roman Friends of Ammianus" *JRS* 54 (1964) 25 ff, Syme (above, n.113) 149 ff, and Markus (above, n.13) 9 f. Although Macrobius must be understood to belong to the governmental aristocracy rather than the aristocracy of Rome strictly called — he was, as he tells us, born *sub alio caelo* — the basis for comparison remains nonetheless valid.

¹¹⁸ The subscription in the Leidensis (bibl. publ. 82, s.X): LEGI EGO NICEVS ROME APVD SERVIVM MAGISTRVM ET EMENDAVI (in slightly different form in the later Laurentianus, 34.42, s.XI: LEGI EGO NICEVS APVD M. SERVIVM ROMAE ET EMENDAVI).

¹¹⁹ See Symmachus' response to the scepticism of Evangelus, 1.24,5: *videris enim mihi ita adhuc Vergilianos habere versus qualiter eos pueri magistris praelegentibus canebarum*.

¹²⁰ For the phrase, see, e.g., Gellius 1.7,16 ff; the *vulgus semidoctum* is naturally linked with the *grammaticus semidoctus* (for example, Gellius 15.9,3 ff).

maticorum cohors who bear the brunt of Macrobius' blame, or Evangelus, whose moral and intellectual failings are so profound that he seems to be *sui generis*, an extraordinary and easily isolated case unrepresentative of men at large. The claim of cultural superiority implicit in the dialogue's composition has been subordinated almost completely to the urge for unity. In this connection, it is possible to think of Peter Brown's analysis of the "centrifugal" and "centripetal" trends in Roman society before and after the sack of Rome in 410:¹²¹ one may view the social ideal of the *Saturnalia* as characteristic of the latter movement, the urge to "pull together," while the creation of the *Saturnalia*, an unspoken attempt to stake out a position as part of an elite within an elite, may be regarded as a continuation of the former. The two impulses are not combined without some strain. The point at which they overlap is perhaps visible in the combination of equality and hierarchy that forms one of the dialogue's basic tenets: all the participants are equal, but some are more equal than others. *Omnes . . . qui adsunt pari doctrina polleant*, says Avienus, while deferring to Praetextatus, *unice conscius* (1.7, 17).

These conflicting impulses, in themselves, raise interesting and difficult questions for any attempt to locate the dialogue securely in its historical context. Those impulses, furthermore, are related to another, fundamental question: how, finally, is one to define the points of similarity and difference, continuity and discontinuity, between Macrobius' own circumstances and the age he chose to memorialize? The desire for continuity is certainly present: it is easy but, I think, mistaken to emphasize the purely elegiac aspect of the dialogue, as if Praetextatus and the rest were chosen as the "last of the Romans," whose like would not come again.¹²² Macrobius' fiction is of a somewhat different kind: *not long ago* there were great men *just as* in the time long past. Macrobius' moralizing recreation of the *saeculum Praetextati* is meant to provide a metaphor and model for his own day. As the figure of Avienus suggests, the distances between the ages can be bridged: there is not a complete separation of the present from the recent past, and the recent past from the distant past. This aspect of the work, the eye turned to the present, is important in itself: thus the *Saturnalia* has been exploited by John Matthews in his important demonstration of the continuity of the cultural life of the Roman aristocracy and the latter's resilience in the passage from the fourth to the fifth century.¹²³ But continuity does not

¹²¹ (Above, n. 13) 95 ff = *Religion and Society*, 186 ff.

¹²² It is here that Cameron's emphasis falls, "Date" 35 ff; cf. Marinone (above, n. 12) 24.

¹²³ See above, n. 13.

tell the whole tale, especially in certain features which affect the basic tone of the dialogue. Consider, for example, the following passage from one of Symmachus' letters (3.44):

concedo in leges tuas et ἀρχαῖσμον scribing non invitatus adfecto. tu tamen fac memineris, illud potius simplex nonnullis videri, quod sequentis aetatis usus recepit . . . si tibi vetustatis tantus est amor, pari studio in prisca verba redeamus, quibus salii canunt et augures avem consulunt et decemviri tabulas condiderunt. iam dudum his renuntiatum est, ut successio temporum placita priora mutavit.

Symmachus' lecture here actually concerns a minor point of etiquette, and the rhetoric applied is hardly characteristic of his general attitude toward *vetustas*; ¹²⁴ but the very fact that these sentiments can be so casually deployed suggests some of the distances that separate Macrobius from his subjects. There is nothing in the *Saturnalia* that is quite so relaxed and mercurial. While able to accept Symmachus' premise (*successio temporum placita priora mutavit*; cf. *Sat.* 6.3,9), Macrobius would regret the note of combativeness and sarcasm: in fact, Symmachus' *reductio ad absurdum* is strikingly similar to the unfortunate notions voiced in the dialogue by the immature Avienus.¹²⁵ The differences present here are symptomatic: one finds in a Symmachus — for all his unquestionable conservatism — a flexibility (even wiliness), an irony, an acceptance of controversy¹²⁶ that are absent from Macrobius' work. The *urbanitas* of Symmachus' correspondence, like that of Cicero's dialogues, rests upon an easy and individual self-confidence; the urbane façade of Macrobius' dialogue conceals a more anxious and brittle turn of mind. It is appropriate that, although the company of the symposium undertake to speak *de Maronis ingenio* (1.24,14), much the greater part of their attention lies elsewhere, with, in effect, his *mores*:¹²⁷ for the ideal that shapes the *Saturnalia* places most of its emphasis on

¹²⁴ With *Epist.* 3.44, compare the quick shift in rhetorical coloring found in two letters to Naucellius, 3.11 and 12.

¹²⁵ With the salii and augurs and decemviri who figure in Symmachus' letter, compare the Horatii and the other men who, together with Evander's mother, play a similar role in the outburst of Avienus at *Sat.* 1.5,1–3; with Symmachus' *renuntiatum est*, cf. Avienus' *oblitterata . . . exauctorata . . . repudiata*.

¹²⁶ As sketched so well by Matthews in his study of the correspondence, "The Letters of Symmachus" in J. W. Binns (above, n.13) 58 ff; see also *Arist.* 5 ff.

¹²⁷ Compare and contrast the union of qualities in, e.g., Symmachus *Epist.* 1.14,2 (reproaching Ausonius for his failure to send a copy of the *Mosella*): *cur me istius libelli, quaeso, exsortem esse voluisti? aut ἀμυνόμενος tibi videbar, qui iudicare non possem, aut certe malignus, qui laudare nescirem. itaque vel ingenio meo plurimum vel moribus derogasti.*

moral qualities (*verecundia*, *diligentia*) conducive to mutual support, praise, reassurance — and obedience. This last element is most apparent when, for a moment, the façade cracks, in the clash between the philosopher Eustathius and the doctor Dysarius. It may be possible to hear in that passage the idiom of the fifth century: the language of Macrobius in the heat of controversy is most closely paralleled by the language used to denounce a contemporary Christian heresy, as the unrestrained assertion of an idiosyncratic *prudentia* which seeks to undo the solidarity of the whole.¹²⁸

These last few paragraphs were intended to suggest several lines of approach by which we may reach a more complete understanding of the *Saturnalia*. But we are perhaps not yet in a position to evaluate with precision the various phenomena sketched above. One particular need may be mentioned: a more satisfying assessment than now exists of the *Saturnalia*'s relation to the conventions of its genre. Only when we have considered the relationship between the elements embedded in the literary tradition and aspects of contemporary influence will we be able to answer with assurance such questions as the following: does the *Saturnalia* represent a typical projection of the "more rigid and more oligarchic" social structure and intellectual life of the period following the sack of Rome onto the "still prolific and turbulent age of Symmachus and Praetextatus?"¹²⁹ Or does it represent a projection of Macrobius' notion of the social structure and intellectual life of classical antiquity, compounded from his readings in Gellius, Cicero, and Plutarch?¹³⁰ Are the answers to the foregoing necessarily mutually exclusive? In seeking to answer these questions we would learn something new about the interplay of social forms and literary conventions; we would then be able to answer in turn many of the other questions raised by the *Saturnalia* and so draw on its full potential as a unique social and historical document.

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¹²⁸ With Eustathius' denunciation at 7.15,14 (Macrobius' own addition to the substance borrowed from Plutarch, cf. above n.68), esp. the charge that Dysarius has attempted *rem consensu generis humani decantatam et creditam oblivioni dare*, cf. the language of the imperial rescript of 418 denouncing Pelagianism (PL 48. 381): *insignem notam plebeiae aestimat vilitatis sentire cum cunctis, ac prudentiae singularis palmam communiter approbata destruere*, and see Brown (above, n.13) 98 = *Religion and Society*, p. 189.

¹²⁹ So P. Brown, in his review of M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des römischen Reichs*, RSI 80 (1968) 1021, reprinted and translated in *Religion and Society*, p. 231 f.

¹³⁰ As C. E. Murgia has suggested to me.

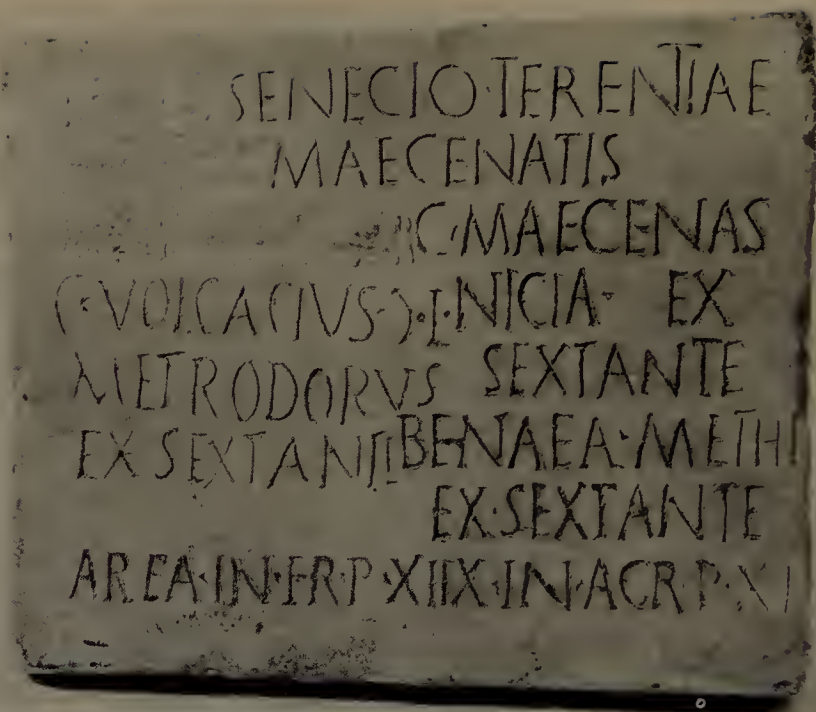
AN UNPUBLISHED LATIN FUNERARY INSCRIPTION OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH MAECENAS

MASON HAMMOND

THE Latin inscription here discussed has apparently not previously been published. It is now the personal property of Mr. Rodney G. Dennis, Curator of Manuscripts in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. Mr. Dennis desired to have an example of Latin capital lettering and purchased this inscription from a London dealer, Charles Ede, Ltd., about February 1, 1974. In Ede's catalogue of seals, inscriptions, papyri, and so forth, the inscription is listed on an unnumbered page as "Roman: no. 30" with a small photograph two pages further on. It is said to have come from the collection of Captain Raymond Johnes.¹ Mr. Ede later wrote to Mr. Dennis that he had secured the inscription from a sale at Christie's on April 3, 1973. In the catalogue of that sale, entitled "Primitive Art, Antiquities, and Ancient Jewelry," the inscription is listed on p. 57 as no. 235: "A Roman marble tablet inscribed in Latin with a funerary text — 11 in. (28 cm.) wide, circa 2nd Century A.D." It is one of a number of pieces given as "Classical Antiquities. The property of the late Captain Raymond Johnes."² Nothing has been found about Captain Johnes or the earlier provenance of the piece. Professor and Mrs. Arthur E. Gordon of the University of California at Berkeley, who kindly examined a xerox of the inscription and have permitted the use of their conclusions, think that it came from Rome or nearby and, as will appear, the context certainly suggests this.

¹ The undated Ede catalogue in Mr. Dennis' possession lists items 27-31 as from the collection made by the second Earl of Benborough in the eighteenth century "except for no. 31." Mr. Ede later wrote to Mr. Dennis that 31 was a mistake for 30. The description of the inscription in this catalogue identifies it as a *columbarium* inscription but assigns no date to it and is otherwise inaccurate.

² Christie's catalogue for the sale on Tuesday, April 3, 1973, was consulted in the library of the Fogg Museum, Harvard University. The Harvard College Library has a copy of an English translation by Captain Raymond Johnes (London, 1930) of a German book by Walther Steinthal entitled *Dreyfus* (also published in 1930). This gives no information about Johnes. A spot check of the British *Who's Who* from 1930 through 1934 produced no entry about him. Possibly a check of the obituaries of the London *Times* would do so, but probably would not yield anything on his small collection of antiquities.



Latin *columbarium* inscription, one-third original size.

Professor Gordon later proofread a xerox of this article and contributed many corrections and helpful suggestions. I am most grateful to both Gordons.

The marble slab is not quite square; it measures 28.5 cm. ($11\frac{1}{8}$ inches) across the top, 23.2 cm. ($9\frac{1}{4}$ inches) on the right side, 27.8 cm. ($10\frac{7}{8}$ inches) across the bottom, and 22.2 cm. ($8\frac{3}{4}$ inches) on the left. Since the various edges are slightly uneven, these measurements are not precise. The thickness is about 3.5 cm. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ inches). The marble is close-grained and somewhat off-white. The front and back surfaces are smooth, with a slight polish, except for the deletion in the upper left portion of the front, which will be discussed later. The surfaces of the top, left, and bottom sides show close-set pick marks; that of the right side seems to have been chipped with a chisel. In the middle of the top and bottom sides are holes. That on the top is roughly square, one cm. on a side and 2.5 cm. deep; that on the bottom is circular with both diameter and depth of one cm. These holes may have been for pins to hold the slab in place or to permit it to be turned so as to give access to the burial space behind. Or the holes may be later additions. In the center of the

back is a small button, perhaps of paper; this was not removed to see if it plugs a hole.

The inscription, in eight lines, can easily be read in the accompanying photograph, kindly provided by Mr. Dennis. It is in capital letters, with triangular points between words at mid-line. The following running text, in normal capital and lower case letters, is given for convenience. It represents simply those letters which can be read clearly and omits the points and possible later letters in the erasures. These will be treated hereafter and proposed readings can readily be put into the running text as given. In the fourth through the sixth lines a slash divides a text incised later to the left of the original.

..... Senecio Terentiae
 Maecenatis
 C. Maecenas
 C. Volcaci^{us} O 1 / Nicia ex
 Metrodorus / sextante
 ex sextante / Benaea Methē
 ex sextante
 Area in fr. p. xiix in agr. p. xi

The left quarter of the first line, slightly more of the second, and about half of the third have been roughly chiseled back sufficiently to eliminate most traces of any letters that may have been in this area. The surface was removed only within the limits of the inscription; the original surface remains at the top and left margins. At the beginning of the deletion in the first line, the letter E is still clearly legible. This E seems to be more similar to those in the right side of the inscription than to those in the later lettering below, that is, it is presumably the first letter of a name which went with the following SENECEO. Between it and SENECEO are traces of letters which might yield ROS, that is, to give the Greek name Eros. No traces of letters are discernible in the deletion of the left part of the second line. Since the original surface is uncut to the right of MAECENATIS it may be assumed that this was centered, though the restoration of a single letter before it would improve the centering and a natural suggestion is C. The unlikelihood of an L. for *libertus* will be considered later. In the deletion of the left half of the third line what appears in the photograph as possible traces of letters do not seem to be so on the stone except at the right end, where XII is legible before the C. The cutting and the crowding of this XII and the fact that it drops slightly below the bottoms of the following, original letters, attach it to the letters of the three lines below on the left.

If the foregoing conclusions are correct, the slab originally had a full first line reading EROS SENECIO TERENCEIAE and a centered second line with C. MAECENATIS — the points between the letters are here omitted. The third through the seventh lines were cut only on the right half, with irregular alignment of letters at the left and right ends, and with the left half blank. Finally the eighth, bottom, line was cut straight across. It seems odd that if, when the stone was originally cut, space was to be left for the names of later burials, the cutter did not cut the two names to the right on two or three lines and then leave three or two lines blank for later additions. Perhaps he felt that by filling all lines he could get his last line correctly spaced. But if so, why did he not cut the third through the seventh lines to the left and leave the space for later names to the right? It seems equally odd that the deletions in the first three lines were made with such irregular right ends. Perhaps the cutter did not want completely to eliminate the names in the first and second lines but felt that they could do without EROS (?) and C. (?). However, as will be suggested later, he does seem to have eliminated in the third line a name incised in the lettering of the name below. This would suggest that the deletion was done after the cutting of the name below and not to provide space for another name in the same lettering. Yet, if so, and if the deleter wanted to preserve something of the names in the first two lines, he must have done his work while these names still had some significance, that is, not too long after both the first and second inscriptions were cut. While he might have deleted a name in the third line because the bearer fell into disgrace (a sort of *damnatio memoriae*), this would not account for his deletions in the first and second lines, which left the important parts of the names. Moreover, why did he not smooth off his deletion and cut something in? In short, the purpose of the deletion, particularly if it occurred not too long after the surviving inscriptions were cut, remains unexplained.

The inscription, clearly funerary, probably came not from the inside but from the outside of a *columbarium* in which urns with the ashes of the deceased were deposited; the statement of the dimensions of the lot at the bottom indicates that the monument stood in its own plot. As the photograph shows, the lettering is in two different scripts. The top two lines, the right halves of the following five lines, and the last line have freely but neatly cut letters roughly 1.8 cm. high, with a well defined V trough. Some are narrow for their height, for example, E, P, R, S, and T. Others are more nearly square, for example, A, C, G, H, and O. The M is square but with its outer legs sloped slightly out at the bottom. The N is also square but with vertical legs. Some T's extend

slightly above the line, others not. In the first line the second T of TERENTIAE is ligatured to the N in the form N̄. In the sixth line the first E of BENAEA is slightly ligatured to the following N by an extension of its central bar, in the form EN. In the fourth line the first I of NICIA appears to be an *I longa* to show a long *i*, as indeed it is in the Greek name. The bottoms of the curves of the R's are attached to the uprights but in the P's in the last line the bottoms of the curves are slightly separated from the uprights. On the whole the spacing is neat, although, as noted, in the third through the seventh lines the beginnings and ends seem irregularly aligned. However, this irregularity tends to center the fourth line and partly the fifth under the third and the seventh under the sixth, to make a formal presentation of the two names similar to that of Eros (?) Senecio in the first and second lines. In the sixth line the ending of METHE has been crowded out to the margin, and in the last line the final XI has been spaced out toward the right edge of the slab.

The lettering of the left halves of the fourth through the sixth lines and, to judge from the XII legible in the third line, of this line also, is much freer and less deeply incised than is that of the right halves. The left lettering is also dropped slightly below the bottoms of the letters on the right. And the ends of the left halves of the fourth and sixth lines, and probably also of the third, are unduly crowded against the right halves, as if the cutter had not judged his spacing very well. The letter forms in this half do not differ markedly from those to the right but are much more casually cut. In the fifth line, the initial M has both its points prolonged to the left. C and O are narrow and the cross bar of T slopes up to the right. The X in EX in the sixth line is precise, like the X's in EX SEXTANTE to the right, but the X in SEXTANTE to the left is more free. However, it would be rash to conclude that the two types of lettering were very far apart in date. At most the slab was originally cut to leave space in the left center for further names, and these were cut not too much later but more freely and with less skill in fitting the available space. The second cutter may have had to do his work on the stone already installed on the monument, which may have made him more casual.

Professor Gordon, in a letter, suggested that the original lettering is that of the first two lines, with the last line added perhaps contemporaneously, though lack of space meant that its letters were slightly more crowded than those of the first two lines, except for the somewhat spaced out XI at the end. He thinks that the right portions of the third through the seventh lines were added somewhat later in space left for

them. However, it may be that exigencies of space meant that the letters in these lines had to be more crowded than in the first two, granted that from the beginning it was intended to leave the left of these lines blank for later additions. There is certainly little or no difference between the letter forms of the third through seventh lines and those of the last, and the slightly better appearance of the letter forms in the first and second lines may simply reflect the availability of more space. Thus it seems not improbable that the first, squarer lettering was done by one cutter more or less at one time. At some probably later date and apparently by a more casual cutter *C. Volcaci*us *Ḷ. l. | Metrodorus | ex sextante* was added in the empty space to the left, with perhaps another name above in the third line. Finally the beginnings of the first, second, and third lines were deleted roughly but nothing new was ever inserted. As noted above, there is no way to explain why initially the original two names were put in the right of the third through the sixth lines rather than either straight across, or to the left leaving the right blank for the presumably envisaged later additions.

An examination of the plates in the first part of Professor and Mrs. Gordon's *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* provides no exact parallels for either the first or the second lettering, but does afford examples showing the same letter forms and characteristics throughout the period from Augustus through at least Nero.³ As early as 17 B.C. a portion of the inscription for the *Ludi Saeculares* has considerable similarity to the first writing.⁴ So also do pieces of the *Acts of the Arval Brethren* of A.D. 33/36 and 38.⁵ The second lettering is less fully exemplified, but it might be likened to the epitaph of a charioteer of around A.D. 25 or to part of the *Acts of the Arval Brethren* of A.D. 50/54.⁶ Obviously cutters may have worked for many years and styles must have been passed

³ Arthur E. and Joyce S. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions I* (1958) in two parts, text and plates. Reference is here made only to the plates. There are in all three volumes, each in two parts, and a volume of indices.

⁴ For the inscription of the *Ludi Saeculares*, see pl. 8 no. 12. Pl. 11 no. 17 may also be compared, probably to be dated not after 12 B.C., an inscription concerning the bequest from which was built the pyramid of Cestius and which is more formal; and pl. 17 no. 28, part of the *Laudatio Turiae* of 8-2 B.C.

⁵ For the *Acta Fr. Arv.* of A.D. 33/36 and 38, see pl. 33 no. 69 and pl. 37 no. 82.

⁶ For the inscription of the charioteer, see pl. 30 no. 60; and for the *Acta Fr. Arv.* of A.D. 50/54, pl. 44 no. 102. The latter is more formal than the second lettering but shows similar letter forms. Professor Gordon suggested in his letter comparison with pl. 54 no. 128, a dedication of a shrine in A.D. 70, but this lettering is more formally high and narrow than the second lettering of the inscription, and shows more ornamentation, including accents.

down from master to apprentice so that it is natural that the style of lettering remained fairly constant throughout the first century A.D.

An interesting comparison to the present inscription may be made with an inscription of a freedman, *C. Iulius diui Aug. l(ibertus) Delphus Maecenatianus* and his wife and daughter.⁷ This, because Augustus is already *diuus*, would date after A.D. 14 but probably not too long after. The freedman in question was perhaps bequeathed by Maecenas to Augustus with the rest of his property in 8 B.C. and freed either during the lifetime of the emperor or by his will. The careful square lettering and the triangular points are more formal than the first lettering of the present inscription but in general show similar characteristics. The point of comparison, however, is that squeezed in at the bottom are two further more casually cut lines, according to which one *C. Iulius Trophimus* repaired the tomb for himself, his family, his freedmen and freedwomen, and their posterity. The lettering of this addition is narrow, casually formed, and the points of the M are carried up to the left. The addition suggests therefore the addition of the second lettering to the present inscription, in a crowded space and perhaps cut on the slab in position.

The names on the present inscription show, as might be expected, a combination of Greek and Latin.⁸ If in the first line EROS has been correctly restored before SENECIO, the inverted order of Greek followed by Latin is unusual but not unparalleled.⁹ *Eros* is common in

⁷ For the inscription of *C. Julius Delphus Maecenatianus*, see pl. 26 no. 50.

⁸ The standard index of Greek names is Wilhelm Pape, revised (ed. 3), by Gustav Eduard Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 2 vols., paged continuously, 1884. This is the third volume of Pape's *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. Since the onomasticon of the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* has been published only for the letters C and part of D, still to be consulted is Forcellini's *Onomasticon* as most recently revised by Perin in 2 vols. (1913, 1920); the older revision by De-Vit in 4 vols. (1859–87) runs only through the letter O. Very useful, of course, are the indices of *nomina* and *cognomina* in Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* III 1 (1914). These will be cited as Pape/Bens., Forc./Perin, and *ILS*. The listings under the various names in Pauly/Wissowa et al., *Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, give only known individuals and are no help for the persons here, otherwise unknown except for Terentia and Maecenas. This will be cited as *RE* and *REz* (Reihe) for the second part, beginning with the letter R. Citations will be made to half volumes in Arabic numerals, not to the full volumes, usually cited by Roman numerals.

⁹ *Cic. fam.* XII 26.2 mentions a freedman *Erotem Turium, Q. Turi libertum*, who seems to have been diverting to his own use the inheritance of his patron. *ILS* 7442 lists four gardeners (and a fifth name) from the tomb of the *Statilii Tauri* on the Via Appia, of the early first century A.D.; see *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* VI 2 p. 994 (hereafter *CIL*). No. 7442a is of *Eros Teuc. ex hortis Scatonianis* and

Rome as a slave name and therefore as a *cognomen* for freedmen.¹⁰ *Senecio* is, however, not a Roman *nomen* but fairly common as a *cognomen* at all social levels.¹¹ This leaves the question whether EROS (?) SENECIO was a freedman or a slave. If the former, L. for *libertus* might be thought to be the missing letter to be supplied at the beginning of the second line, instead of C. as suggested above. However, no example has been found in which L. was placed between the name of a wife and her husband; the place for it would ordinarily be after MAECENATIS. Moreover it was usual for a freedman of a woman to take his Roman *nomen* from the woman's father's family, and no *Senecio* appears in the family of the *Terentii Varrones*, to which Terentia belonged.¹²

It perhaps may be assumed that Eros (?) Senecio was still a slave of Terentia when he died, since, were she already dead, he would have either passed into the possession of her heirs or been freed in her will. Unfortunately it is unknown whether she died before or after her

Dessau expands *Teuc.* to *Teucrianus*; this would be parallel to *Delphus Maecenatianus*, though the latter has a *praenomen* and *nomen* above in n.7. The other three gardeners were apparently slaves and there is no reason to assume that *Eros Teucrianus* was not also a slave. What looks like a parallel to him in no. 7442c, *Eros isularius ex horteis Pompeia.*, is not; *isularius* is for *insularius* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII 1 col. 2040 lines 5-6 s.v.), the manager of a block of buildings, and *Pompeia.* is for *Pompeianis*, that is, the block of which Eros was in charge must have been in Pompeii and included gardens. Sir Ronald Syme, of Oxford University, who examined a photograph of the present inscription, saw no problem in the inversion of names *Eros Senecio*, and in its being a slave name.

¹⁰ For *Erōs* see Pape/Bens. I 392-393; Forc./Perin I 551; *ILS* under *cognomina* p. 190.

¹¹ *ILS* does not index *Senecio* under *nomina* p. 129, but lists several examples under *cognomina* p. 240; Forc./Perin II 612 has only a brief entry. *ILS* 2686 was dedicated to a certain Paullus Aemilius, a military officer, by *Senecio l(ibertus)*.

¹² That a freedman of a woman took his *praenomina* and *nomina* from the woman's father's family is stated by Joachim Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 2nd ed. A. Mau, 1886), part I p. 22; see also Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1969), 250 at the end of the second paragraph. Treggiari's Appendix 2, "The Nomenclature of Freedmen," 250-251, is a good summary; see also A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1928, reprint New York 1958/1959) 246, index under "Names," and R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire* (London, 1928, reprint London 1968) 257, index under "Names." Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, 2nd ed. (reprint from 1st ed. of 1904, Berlin 1966), does not deal with the order of names or with those of slaves and freedmen; it traces the philological origin of Roman gentile names.

husband, Gaius Maecenas, who died in 8 B.C.¹³ Since he left all his property to Augustus, it might be assumed that she predeceased him. However, they had been divorced about 12 B.C. and there is question whether they ever remarried and, in any case, perhaps she was well enough off in her own right not to require any inheritance from him.¹⁴ It was regular for a wife, like a slave, to be denominated as "of so-and-so" without any defining word; as suggested above, Maecenas would probably have been designated as *C. Maecenatis* with the *C.* in the deletion before his name.¹⁵ If Terentia outlived him, Senecio might still have called himself "(slave of) Terentia, (wife of) Maecenas" after 8 B.C. However, the indication that he was still her slave would seem to date the cutting of his name in the late first century B.C. rather than early in the first century A.D.¹⁶

¹³ For Terentia see *RE* 2 9 col. 716 no. 96; also under *Maecenas* in *RE* 27 col. 215. They were married before 23 B.C., the year in which Terentia's adoptive brother, A. Terentius Varro (L. Licinius) Murena, was involved in a conspiracy against Augustus, of which Maecenas incautiously informed her, see Suet. *Aug.* 66.3. Both Terentia and Maecenas were said to have had extra-marital affairs, she in particular with Augustus. But Maecenas seems throughout to have remained devoted to her despite a divorce about 12 B.C.

¹⁴ An opinion quoted in *Dig.* 24.1.64 about the validity of a donation made presumably by Maecenas to Terentia at the time of the divorce has led some scholars to assume that they came together again. For Maecenas' death and his bequest of his property to be disposed of by Augustus, with very few reservations, see Dio LV 7.5.

¹⁵ A survey of the inscriptions in *ILS* II 2 chs. XVI, *Tituli ministrorum vitae privatae, etc.*, and XVII, *Tituli sepulcrales*, produced relatively few instances where a woman was indicated as the wife of so-and-so except in the case of the imperial house. This indication occurs much less often than instances in which a woman is called daughter of, or ex-slave of, someone. For this practice in the case of members of the imperial house, cf. *Antoniae Drusi*, i.e., Antonia the Younger, wife of Tiberius' brother Drusus, in nos. 1663, 1695, 1696, 1790, 7811, and cf. no. 149. In no. 1696 the second of two persons is *Quintiae Antoniae Drusi l(ibertae) cantrix* (= singer); the *l.* follows the names of both the mistress and her husband. For Livia (Livilla), wife of Tiberius' son Drusus Caesar, see nos. 1751, 1752 (where she is *Iuliae Drusi Caesar.*), 8052; for *Messallinae Ti. Claudii Caesaris*, no. 1781; for *Octaviae Augusti sororis l.*, also with the *l.* following both names, no. 1877. Terentia is here named as Maecenas' wife perhaps because he was so well known.

¹⁶ *ILS* 7848 records a tomb of *leibertorum et leibertar. C. Maecenatis L. f. Pom. postereisque eorum et qui id tuendum contulerunt contulerint*. According to Professor Gordon, the use of *-ei-* for long *i* does not necessarily indicate a date B.C. For instance, in two different inscriptions from the same monument, and therefore presumably reasonably contemporary, namely *ILS* 7442 (above, n.9) two of four gardeners are defined as *ex hortis* and two *ex horteis*. There is no

The second name, that on the right halves of the third and fourth lines, is C. MAECENAS NICIA. Nicia, or more often Nicias, is of course a familiar Greek name, which occurs in Latin for slaves and as a *cognomen* for freedmen.¹⁷ This man was clearly a freedman of Maecenas, and perhaps the omission of *Maecenatis l(ibertus)* indicated that his former master was already dead; he might have been freed by will. This might support Mrs. Gordon's suggestion that Maecenas Nicia's three lines were cut by the same hand as that of the first and second lines but at a later date. However, as observed above in the discussion of the lettering, the differences in writing between the first two lines, the right halves of the next five, and the last are not so marked that any conclusions as to order of cutting can be convincingly advanced.

The third name, the second on the right, BENAEA METHE, is purely Greek. The first part is not well attested in Greek and not otherwise at all in Latin inscriptions.¹⁸ *Benna* or *Bena* was the name of a town in Thrace and of one of the five "tribes" of Ephesus and gave rise to the Greek adjectives *Ben(n)aioi* or *Ben(n)asioi*.¹⁹ This woman's name may denote origin from either Thrace or Ephesus. *Methe* was originally drunkenness personified and Menander used it as a title for a play.²⁰ Dessau gives two persons named *Methe*, the freedwoman of a freedman at Allifae in Samnium and an *Antistia Methe Antisti Primigeni* at Pompeii, probably the freedwoman wife of a freedman.²¹ It is to be hoped that by Roman times the name had lost its pejorative significance. A survey of the funeral inscriptions in *ILS* II 2 ch. XVII suggests that slave women, like slave men, normally had only one name and that freedwomen often, but not necessarily always, had as *nomen* that of a former master or mistress, with their slave name as *cognomen*. Since there is no reason to assume that Benaëa was a free Greek woman living in Rome at the time of her death, she was probably a slave with an unusual double name, as apparently was Eros (?) Senecio. Whether she was a

way of knowing why Senecio and Nicia were not buried in the tomb of Maecenas' freedmen and freedwomen (*ILS* 7848); perhaps they died after it had been filled.

¹⁷ For *Nicia* and *Nicias*, see Pape/Bens. II 1003-4; Forc./Perin II 336-337; *ILS* under *cognomina* p. 219.

¹⁸ Forc./Perin I 256 does not list *Ben(n)aea* as a Latin name, nor does it appear in *ILS* under *cognomina* p. 175.

¹⁹ Pape/Bens. I 205 gives the two denotations in Greek of *Ben(n)a* and the adjectives derived therefrom; see also *RE* 5 col. 276 s.v. 1 and 2.

²⁰ For *Methe* in Greek, see Pape/Bens. II 881; in Latin, Forc./Perin II 266.

²¹ For the freedwoman *Methe* from Allifae, see *ILS* 6515; and for *Antistia Methe* from Pompeii, no. 3180.

slave consort of Maecenas Nicia and whether, like him, she was of the household of Maecenas, or even of Terentia, or simply a member of the same burial club, it is impossible to determine from this inscription. The lettering of her name suggests that it was cut at the same time as was that of Maecenas Nicia, and either contemporaneously with or only slightly later than that of Eros (?) Senecio.

Before the fourth full name, that on the center left, there remain at the end of the deletion in the third line, close against the C. of C. Maecenas, clear traces of XII. This is unlikely to have been a numeral at this point. Sir Ronald Syme suggested that it was the genitive of a name ending in *-xius*, probably *Axius* or *Dexius*, that is, there was a name or names followed by *Axii* or *Dexii* to signify "(slave of [less probably 'wife of']) *Axius* or *Dexius*." Though prominent Romans with either name are not attested in the Augustan age, Cicero had a rich senatorial friend called *Axius* and he mentions a *Dexius* as husband of the sister of *Licina*, wife of a *Cassius*.²² Either might have left descendants in the Augustan period. It is hardly likely that, if the names ending in *-xii* were cut at the same time as the following names of C. Volcarius and before the deletion, they occupied more than the first half of the third line, since *Eros* (?) and C. (?) have been suggested as restorations in the first and second lines. It is hard to imagine what such names might have been or how related to the others; was it simply the name of a fifth occupant of the tomb? If so, there is no space for *ex sextante* which comes with all the others except *Eros* (?) Senecio.

Finally the one name preserved in the second lettering in the left halves of the fourth and fifth lines is C. VOLCACIUS C. L. METRODORUS. He may have been a freedman of a woman connected by birth or marriage with some member of the senatorial family of the Volcarii Tulli, which had become prominent in the later Republic. A Gaius Volcarius Tullus served with Caesar, ultimately as legate, during the Gallic campaigns. Two Lucii Volcarii Tulli became consuls, one in 66

²² For *Axius*, see Tyrrell and Purser's index to Cicero's correspondence, VII (1901) 13, top of left column; and *RE* 4 col. 2633 s.v. 4. An undated (probably second century A.D.) M. Bassaeus *Axius* is listed in *RE* 5 col. 103 no. 1 from *ILS* 1401. For *Dexius*, see *Cic. fam.* VII 23.4; curiously, shortly before him Cicero mentions a *Nicias*, apparently a slave or freedman who was intimate with *Cassius*. Other *Dexii* are listed in *Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl. Nom. Propr.* III 1 col. 119 s.v. 1, none of whom seems suitable to have been master of a slave or patron of a freedman in high Augustan society. The only *Dexius* as *nomen* or *cognomen* in *ILS* is a C. *Dexius* L. f. *Maximus* of Interamna in Umbria, undated, in no. 5645. However *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. 2 gives a few instances of it as a Greek single name taken over into Latin.

and one in 33 B.C. The second was *cos. ord.* with Caesar (Octavian), later Augustus.²³ Metrodorus is a common Greek name attested in Rome for slaves and freedmen.²⁴ When a freedman had been freed by a woman, the reverse \mathcal{O} . was used for any woman's name, and not simply for *Gaia*, as C. was *Gaius*.²⁵ Since the freedman of a woman generally took her father's *nomen*, it may be assumed that Metrodorus had been freed by a woman of the gens *Volcacia*.²⁶

Three of the persons named, Maecenas Nicia, Benaeta Methe, and Volcaci^{us} Metrodorus, are followed by *ex sextante*, that is, "for one sixth." While inscriptions indicating shared tombs, or the right to put urns into a tomb, are not uncommon, this particular phrase is not attested on any inscription and only two literary examples of its use for shares of an inheritance are cited, one from Cicero and the other from the jurist Paul in the *Digest*.²⁷ If the assumption about the deletion in the

²³ For the gens *Volcacia*, see *RE* 17 (1961) 741; for Gaius V. Tullus, col. 754 s.v. no. 7; for the two consular Lucii V. T., cols. 754-757 nos. 8, 9; and further on the consul of 33 Suppl. IX (1962) cols. 1838-39 s.v. no. 18, with an added note in Suppl. XIV (1974) col. 948 s.v. no. 9, in which his proconsulship of Asia is dated in 9 B.C. rather than during the 20s. A nephew of the consul of 33 is probably to be identified with Propertius' friend Tullus, for whom see Suppl. IX col. 1837 s.v. no. 17. For freedmen named *Volcaci^{us}*, see *ILS* under *nomina* p. 160. Comparable to C. *Volcaci^{us}* \mathcal{O} . l. *Metrodorus* is C. *Volcaci* C. l. *Aniceti*, undated, in no. 7656.

²⁴ For *Metrōdorus*, see Pape/Bens. II 918-919; Forc./Perin II 268. *ILS* affords only one example of the *cognomen*, no. 7657 from Rome: P. *Clodius* P. l. *Metrodorus glutinarius*. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VI 2 col. 2112 s.v. gives this inscription (= *CIL* VI 9443) as the only occurrence of the last word, which it defines by the Greek *kollepos* or boiler of glue. Cicero, in a letter to Tiro, *fam.* XVI 20, speaks of a doctor Metrodorus. Both were probably Greek. None of the persons listed under Metrodorus in *RE* 30 cols. 1474-83 are relevant.

²⁵ For \mathcal{O} . standing for any woman who freed a slave, see Treggiari (above, n.12) 250; R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (Paris, 4th ed., 1914), 415 col. 1; and Arthur E. Gordon, "On Reversed C (= *Gaiae*)," *Epigraphica* XL (1978) 230. Gordon discusses the sources, and the meaning and proper reading of the formula given by Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 30 (271 E), as part of the Roman marriage ceremony and translated from his Greek into Latin as *quando* (or *ubi*) *tu Gaius, ego Gaia*. This phrase, spoken by the bride, "oddly enough never occurs in Latin." Gordon notes that although Mommsen proposed that *Gaius* here was not a *praenomen* but an early *nomen gentilicium*, there is in fact no reason why *Gaius*/*Gaia* of the formula should not be simply a common *praenomen* used generically.

²⁶ For the *nomen* of the freedman of a woman, see above n.12.

²⁷ For *sextans* = one sixth, see Forc./De-Vit, *Lexicon* V 486-487. The first quotation for parts of an inheritance is Cicero, *fam.* XIII 29.4, where heirs of one sixth, *in sextante*, of an estate are mentioned; one single heir was *ex parte dimidia et tertia*, i.e., of a half (three sixths) and a third (two sixths), namely five

left of the third line of names ending in *-xii* is correct, there appears to be no space of *ex sextante* after this person. Thus it cannot be determined whether three or four persons shared the tomb in sixths with Eros (?) Senecio, the original builder, and whether he retained two or three sixths, or whether it was from the beginning intended to share the tomb six ways but only the four named and perhaps the person whose names ended in *-xii* were finally buried in it.

The dimensions of the lot (*area*) in the bottom line follow a common formula for giving the dimensions across the front, *in fr(onte) p(edes) XIIIX*, and into the field (that is, in depth), *in agr(o) p(edes) XI*.²⁸ The subtractive reckoning *XIIIX* for *XVIII* is, according to Cagnat, rare.²⁹ The lot was thus eighteen feet by eleven.

In conclusion, therefore, the interest of this inscription is its connection with the households of Terentia and Maecenas. But beyond their names it affords little or no information about the persons buried in the tomb.³⁰ Eros (?) Senecio and possibly Benaëa Methe were probably slaves; Maecenas Nicia and Volcacijs Metrodorus were freedmen. Which the person presumed to have been deleted in the left of the third line was cannot be known.

The original proprietor, Senecio, might have constructed the tomb at any time after the marriage of Terentia and Maecenas, which took place probably shortly before 23 B.C. If Terentia outlived Maecenas, Senecio could have built it after the latter's death in 8 B.C., but probably not after that of Terentia. A likely date is shortly before the turn of the millennium. The close similarity between the lettering of Senecio's name and that of Maecenas Nicia's and Benaëa Methe's, and the absence for the former of *Maecenatis l(ibertus)*, suggest that Nicia and Methe were buried only shortly after Senecio, but after Maecenas' death in 8 B.C. Possibly all three names were cut at the same time, if Terentia outlived Maecenas. Volcacijs Metrodorus was probably buried later, as was, presumably, the person, if such there was, whose name was origin-

sixths. And Paul in *Digest* XLIV 2.30 at the beginning mentions an *ex sextante heres institutus* who sued for half the property but lost his case. Professor Gordon wrote that he had not found *sextans* indexed for *CIL* VI, the collection of inscriptions from Rome. For shared tombs see, e.g., *ILS* 7892, 7893, 7901, 7912.

²⁸ For the dimensions of plots given in inscriptions, see *ILS* 8311 ff.

²⁹ For *XIIIX* = *XVIII* see Cagnat (above, n.25) 31 lines 4-5.

³⁰ An examination of the indices to the volumes of *CIL*, particularly of the parts of VI, might produce more parallels for the names and general form of the present inscription, but it has seemed that the indices to *ILS* would suffice for this purpose.

ally cut at the left of the third line. But these names were probably added not long after the first three. It would seem likely that the dimensions of the plot in the last line were cut at the time when the tomb was built, that is, contemporaneously with the cutting of Senecio's name in the first two lines, despite the somewhat more crowded lettering in the last line.

That space was left vacant between Senecio's name and the dimensions suggest that at its building the tomb was planned to be shared by others, perhaps members of a burial society. Why, however, the next two names of Nicia and Methe were cut to the right of the intervening space, rather than straight across with space beneath for later additions, and then Metrodorus' name to their left cannot be determined. Nor can it be determined why only the middle three are said to share in a sixth of the tomb and not either Senecio or the person, if any, deleted at the left above Volcaciis. Finally it is impossible to give a reason for the deletion in the upper left which, hypothetically, took out EROS from the first line and C. from the second but left the rest of the two names, and also removed a presumed name in the left of the third line, cut at the same time as Volcaciis below. Nor can it be guessed why the deletion was left rough and unfilled.

NOTE ON GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS IN CHARGE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE CLASSICS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

This note supplements part IV (pp. 92-93) of Mason Hammond, "Three Latin Inscriptions in the McDaniel Collection," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (HSCP) 68 (1964) 79-97. The original collection of thirty-six Latin inscriptions there mentioned was purchased by the department in 1905/6 and published by Clifford H. Moore in HSCP 20 (1909) 1-14. In 1964 (see article cited above) only nineteen of these could be found, but thereafter five more came to light, to make twenty-four. Still missing are twelve, namely Moore's numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 14, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32, and 36. Moore added to his article as numbers 37, 38, and 39 three inscriptions at that time owned by him. After his death these came to the Fogg Museum and have been transferred to the departmental collection. Three further inscriptions, two purchased by the department with the McDaniel Fund and one given, were published in HSCP 68 (1964; see above), along with two funeral reliefs belonging to the original collection which, since they are uninscribed, Moore had not included in his article.

Since the publication of the article of 1964, five further inscriptions have been transferred to the department from the Fogg Museum. Two

are funerary altars. The larger is inscribed in Greek and the smaller in Latin, with a hole in the top for an urn. These were originally given to the Fogg Museum by Dr. Arthur Burkhard. A third is a deep cut relief of a girl's head in a rectangular frame which is inscribed on its lower edge STATORIA M.F. QARĀ; it has cut on the back names of other Statorii which may be modern additions. A fourth is an oblong funerary inscription broken off at either end and showing two tablets, left and right, whose texts are only partially preserved. The fifth is an oblong bronze stamp with a raised edge and a raised longitudinal dividing line; the upper space is in raised Greek letters ΑΛΤΕΠΙΟΝ and in the lower ΙΟΝΔΕΩΝ. Since these read from left to right, they would be reversed if the stamp were used and hence the stamp may not be genuine. These five pieces have not been studied to see whether they have been published or not.

A Greek inscription, published as *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* III 1 (1927) pp. 27-28 no. 122, came to the department as a gift through the intervention of Professor Sterling Dow. Two ostraca from Egypt with painted Greek inscriptions came to it in the Haynes bequest. These were published by Edgar J. Goodspeed, "Greek Ostraca in America," *American Journal of Philology* 25 (1904) pp. 45-58, nos. 11 and 15; and by Friederich Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten* I (Strassburg, Trübner, 1915) pp. 336-338, nos. 4362 and 4366.

There are probably other Greek and Latin inscriptions still in the collections of the Fogg Museum. And there is on deposit in the Houghton Library from the Semitic Museum a small collection of Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VISCUS/VISCUM

ROBERT RENEHAN

... nec tamen domi Milonem vel uxorem eius
offendo, sed tantum caram meam Fotidem.
suis parabat viscum fartim concisum et
pulpam frustatim consectam †ambacupascuae
iurulenta et, quod naribus iam inde
ariolabar, tucetum perquam sapidissimum.

— Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.7

THE context establishes that the phrase *viscum fartim concisum* must refer to some sort of meat dish, such as a sausage, haggis, or force-meat; this seems never to have been questioned. What has been questioned, often, is the soundness of *viscum*. Briefly, the problem is this. *Viscum*, -i (with masculine by-form *viscus*, -i) has two basic meanings, "mistletoe" and "birdlime" (made from the berries of the mistletoe). How the meaning required in this passage could have been generated from either signification of *viscum* is not at all apparent. In such a situation it is not unreasonable to attempt conjectural emendation and the attempt has been made. Only two conjectures, the favorites, need be mentioned: *isicium*, "forcemeat" (proposed by Stewech and Gerhard Voss, printed by Hildebrand in the last century and Robertson in his Budé text of 1940) and *viscus* (proposed by Salmasius). This latter term includes, *inter alia*, heart, liver, lungs, kidney, and would be perfectly apposite in context. It has found recent advocates in R. Verdière¹ and Giuseppe Augello.² Augello, who is preparing a new edition of the *Metamorphoses*, is emphatic: "La parola *viscum* è del tutto insostenibile."³ On the contrary, *viscum* is sound.

¹ *Latomus* 15.1956.372.

² Giuseppe Augello, *Studi Apuleiani: Problemi di testo e loci vexati delle Metamorfosi* (Palermo, 1977) 45.

³ On the other *crux* in this sentence, *ambacupascuae iurulenta*, Augello (above, n.2) accepts Frassinetti's conjecture *ambo compascue iurulenta*, which strikes me as fantastic. Helm in his Teubner text (I cite the third edition of 1931) commented here *viror. doct. coniecturas afferre non tanti est*, and Robertson echoed him in the Budé text: *in loco desperato virorum doct. coniecturas afferre non tanti est*. This seems the correct posture for now.

Viscum, in this passage, is a quite distinct word from *viscum*, "mistletoe," "birdlime," and scholars were correct to object to the word so derived. It is rather a second declension by-form of *viscus*, *-eris*; those who desiderated *viscus* here showed a correct instinct for the sense. The crucial evidence for second declension *viscum* = *viscus* has not yet found its way into the lexica and hence has gone unnoticed by Apuleian specialists.⁴ In 1912 W. Sherwood Fox published as a supplement to *AJP*, vol. 33, a set of five lead *defixiones*, said to have been found in Rome and dating from the first century B.C. (c. 40 B.C. at latest).⁵ All five tablets contain the same basic text, the chief difference being the name of the person cursed; the *defixiones* are directed against, respectively, Plotius, Avonia, Maxima Vesonia, *nomen perditum*, Aquillia. The pertinent section goes as follows: . . . *Proserpina Salvia, do tibi . . . viscum sacrum, nei possit urinam facere . . .*⁶

Viscum sacrum refers to the *pudenda et muliebria et virilia*; it is not unusual for one word to have both meanings: αἰδοῖα, *genitalia*, "private parts," and so on. If it be objected that these examples are periphrastic euphemisms, the answer is that *viscum* is itself such (a corporeal, rather than functional or social, euphemism⁷). If one wonders how this particular word could come to signify both organs, reflection upon Munro's accurate description of *viscus* (at Lucr. 1.837) may be found useful: "the whole of the flesh and soft substance between the skin and bones." It is an instance (or rather two) of *totum pro parte*. Some may prefer, in view of *nei possit urinam facere*, to interpret *viscum* here as "bladder." This would permit the word to refer to the same organ consistently, and elsewhere *viscus* is found used of bodily sacs

⁴ I had thought that this evidence was still entirely missing from the reference works, but Calvert Watkins courteously called my attention to the new edition (unavailable to me) of M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, which appeared in 1977. There on p. 450, under "Übergang in andere Declinationen" the following entry has been added: "Neben *viscus*, meist plur. *viscera* 'Eingeweide' inschr. akk. *viscum sacrum* 'penem (?)' D[iehl] 801², 33 p. 87." The definition of *viscum* is inadequate (*infra*) and there is no mention of Apuleius.

⁵ = *CIL* I.2.2520; text also in Ernst Diehl, *Altlateinische Inschriften*⁴ (Berlin 1959) 801² p. 87 and E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1940), IV.280 ff.

⁶ The line references to the tablets are 1.33-34; 2.32; 3.34; 4.29; 5.29. All the letters of *viscum* do not survive intact on all the plates, but collation of the five *defixiones* leaves no doubt that *viscum* is the reading on each.

⁷ Parallels need not be multiplied; one will suffice. Yeats, in his little poem "On Those That Hated 'The Playboy Of The Western World,' 1907" wrote of ". . . great Juan riding by: / Even like these to rail and sweat / Staring upon his sinewy thigh."

(uterus, testes; see the lexica). This seems a less picturesque curse to me and the words which follow immediately on the tablets are *natis*, *anum*, *femina*, all more or less external parts of the body and proximate to the *pudenda*. The two parts cursed just before the *viscum sacrum* are also external, *latera* and *scapulae*. The internal organs were hexed prior to this section (*iocinera*, *cor*, *pulmones*, *intestina*, *venter*). Moreover, for a reason which I cannot quite put into words, the epithet *sacrum* appears far more appropriate if referred to the *genitalia*. Compare the recently famous phrase τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα in Archilochus, *Suppl. Fr.* 478.15 Page. Whichever meaning be preferred, my argument is not affected, for it is concerned with proving the existence of the form *viscum* = *viscus*, not a particular meaning of the word. This is not special pleading, but lest any think it is, I shall add for good measure that in Greek and Latin single words meaning both "bladder" and (female) *pudenda* occur. Hesychius s.v. κυσός· ἡ πυγὴ ἢ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον. In Herodas 2.44 μὴ πρόσθε κυσὸς φθῆσι (*ubi v.* Headlam) κυσός is used for κύστις, "bladder"; so also in *Lyr. Adesp.* 25 Bergk. In both passages the reference is to males. *Vesica*, the normal Latin term for the urinary bladder, is found in several passages of Juvenal where the (sexual) context clearly indicates that it is being used of the *pudendum muliebre* (1.39; 6.64). Finally, observe how neatly *viscum* in the *defixiones* and in Apuleius may perhaps complement each other in sense. For the way in which *viscus/viscum*, given its basic signification, could come to mean both "sausage" and *membrum virile* needs no elaboration. For the metaphor compare Hipponax *Fr.* 84.16–17 West ἐγὼ δ' ἐβίνε[ον . . . / ἐπ' ἄκρον ὥσπερ ἄλλαντα ψήχων and Decimus Laberius 21–22 Ribbeck *numne aliter hunc pedicabis? quo modo? / video, adulescenti nostro caedis hillam*.⁸

The evidence of these tablets is particularly valuable. *Viscum* appears here on original ancient inscriptions, not on recopied medieval manuscripts, and it appears five times, which excludes, beyond reasonable doubt, the possibility that *viscum* is an unintentional slip for *viscus*. The form may be regarded as thereby guaranteed. Moreover, magical texts, as religious and legal ones, are linguistically conservative. There is a good possibility that in *viscum* the tablets preserve an old form rather than a merely semiliterate one. This would accord perfectly with the presence of *viscum* in Apuleius, whose archaizing tendencies are well-known.

There is another piece of evidence to be added, Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.1.81: *pulpa est caro sine pinguedine, dicta quod palpitet: resilit enim*

⁸ *Hirulam* pro *hillam* Ribbeck, which amounts to the same thing for our purposes.

*saepe. hanc plerique et viscum vocant, propter quod glutinosa sit.*⁹ Here *pulpa* and *viscum* are given as synonyms (compare Apuleius: *viscum . . . et pulpam*). The etymology ("because it is sticky") shows that Isidore and his source equated the word with *viscum*, "birdlime." This should not deceive us into thinking that "birdlime" came to mean "sausage" after all. The semantic difficulties with that have been mentioned above. What this passage really demonstrates is that the knowledge of *viscum* = 'meat' had survived to Isidore's time and the fact that this *viscum* was connected with *viscus* and distinct from *viscum*, "birdlime," had long been forgotten. Put differently, Isidore's etymological explanation guarantees the *form* which the manuscripts give here, *viscum*, and rules out of court any thought of "correcting" them to *viscus*, as erroneously happened in the case of the Apuleius text.

Some first-century *defixiones*, Apuleius, Isidore — that is the evidence for the existence of a second declension by-form of *viscus*. Whether this form was masculine (*viscus*, *-i*), neuter (*viscum*, *-i*), or both, as with the word for "mistletoe," "birdlime," we cannot know.¹⁰ Nor can we know whether the form is original or a secondary formation inspired by the *-us* of *viscus*, *-eris*. There is some slight evidence to suggest the former. *volgus* (n.), besides the usual accusative *volgus*, shows also *volgum*. Accius, Sisenna, Varro, Vergil all use it,¹¹ an indication that *volgum* is an archaic, not a vulgar form. It has been suggested that *volgus/volgum* is the product of a *Kreuzung* of **volgus*, *-eris* and **velgum*, *-i*.¹² Possibly *volgus/volgum* and *viscus/viscum* have parallel histories and support each other. That is not certain. What is certain is that *viscum* = *viscus* is Latin.

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⁹ There is a confused allusion to Isidore already in the 1842 Variorum edition of Apuleius by Hildebrand (I.89).

¹⁰ In the case of this latter word, the masculine form *viscus* is at least as old as Plautus, where there is one certain instance, *Bacch.* 50. Other Plautine occurrences, not being in the nominative, are ambiguous, and it is uncertain whether he used both forms. Calvert Watkins favors *viscus* as the older form and compares its Greek cognate *ἰξός*. One should distinguish carefully this alternation of gender *within* the same declension from the shift of declensions (and possibly gender) seen in the word which is the object of the present paper.

¹¹ Cf. Nonius Marcellus, p. 230.17 ff.

¹² For details and references see Hofmann-Szantyr, pp. 10-11, no. 18a.

LEGIO VI FERRATA: THE ANNEXATION AND EARLY GARRISON OF ARABIA

D. L. KENNEDY

FOR the military historian the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian pose a great many problems. During this period two new provinces were added to the Empire, three others were annexed and as quickly abandoned, two new legions were raised and at least one of the existing complement was lost.¹ On the death of Hadrian, the distribution of the legions was markedly different from that in A.D. 98. This is especially true of the eastern frontier as the following tabulation demonstrates:²

<i>Province</i>	<i>Fortress</i>	<i>A.D. 98</i>	<i>A.D. 138</i>
Cappadocia	Satala	<i>XVI Flavia</i>	<i>XV Apollinaris</i>
	Melitene	<i>XII Fulminata</i>	<i>XII Fulminata</i>
Syria	Samosata	<i>VI Ferrata</i>	<i>XVI Flavia</i>
	Cyrrhus ³	<i>IV Scythica</i>	<i>IV Scythica</i>
	Raphanea	<i>III Gallica</i>	<i>III Gallica</i>
Judaea	Jerusalem	<i>X Fretensis</i>	<i>X Fretensis</i>
	Caparcotna	—	<i>VI Ferrata</i>
Arabia	Bostra	—	<i>III Cyrenaica</i>
Egypt	Nicompolis	<i>III Cyrenaica</i>	<i>II Traiana</i>
		<i>XXII Deiotariana</i>	

Such merit as this paper has is due in no small part to the kindness of Professors G. W. Bowersock and S. S. Frere, Mr. L. J. F. Keppie, and Dr. J. C. Mann, who read it at various stages prior to publication. They saved me from many errors and their pertinent observations I have adopted gladly in almost every case. Final responsibility for the whole is, of course, mine alone.

¹ Legion *XXII Deiotariana* was certainly lost; the question of *IX Hispana* is still a matter of debate. See most recently W. Eck, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 459.

² Cf. the tables in L. J. F. Keppie, *Latomus* 32 (1973) 869–874.

³ W. Wagner, *Seleukeia-am-Euphrat/Zeugma* (Wiesbaden 1976) 143–146, has argued from the presence of a large number of the stamps of this legion at Seleucia-on-the Euphrates that this was the base of the legion. His evidence does not seem to me to be conclusive; the stamps may indicate no more than a detachment at a strategic crossing of the river on the road to Antioch. Cf. now his paper in *X Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior* (Cologne 1977).

It is readily apparent that the legionary garrison strengths seem to have remained unchanged in Cappadocia and Syria although both provinces have changed one legion. The most striking changes, however, are in Judaea, which has had its garrison doubled, and in Egypt, where the two legions of the first century garrison have given way to a single legion of Trajanic origin. Problems which have attracted a great deal of attention in recent years have been those involving Arabia (annexed in 106) and Judaea: namely, was *III Cyrenaica* — the well-attested later garrison — in Arabia from the first? And when did Judaea achieve consular status (that is, its second legion)?⁴ Until quite recently, the virtual absence of any clear relevant evidence only allowed these questions to be answered by treating the solid evidence, at either time extreme, as fixed points and postulating a simple sequence of moves to bring about the change. Thus, for two of the earlier writers, Ritterling and Parker, the initial garrison of Arabia had to be a Syrian legion — the annexation force was commanded by the governor of Syria — and *III Gallica* and *VI Ferrata*⁵ were the favorites. More recently, the analyses by Professors Préaux and Bowersock of new evidence, have demonstrated that for the early garrison our attention must be concentrated rather on *VI Ferrata* and *III Cyrenaica*.⁶ The sequence of moves could be seen as follows: (1) *either III Cyrenaica* moves from Egypt to Arabia in 106, *II Traiana* then, or soon after, joined *XXII Deiotariana* in Egypt while the

⁴ In the discussion which follows it will be obvious how deeply indebted this paper is to the studies and conclusions of many previous writers on military matters in the eastern provinces. Foremost among these works and most relevant are:

G. W. Bowersock "The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia," *ZPE* 5 (1970) 37-47 (= Bowersock [1]); "A Report on Provincia Arabia," *JRS* 61 (1971) 219-242, esp. 228-233 (= Bowersock [2]); "Old and New in the History of Judaea" (review) *JRS* 65 (1975) 180-185, esp. 184 (= Bowersock [3]).

L. J. F. Keppie, "The Legionary Garrison of Judaea under Hadrian," *Latomus* 32 (1973) 869-874 (= Keppie).

B. Lifshitz "Sur la date du transfert de la legio VI Ferrata en Palestine," *Latomus* 19 (1960) 109-111 (= Lifshitz).

C. Préaux "Une source nouvelle sur l'annexion de l'Arabie par Trajan: les papyrus de Michigan 465 et 466," *Phoibos* 5 (1950-51) 123-139 = *Mélanges Joseph Hombert* (= Préaux).

M. Sartre "Note sur la première legion stationnée en Arabie romaine," *ZPE* 13 (1974) 85-89 (= Sartre).

M. P. Speidel "Arabia's First Garrison," *ADAJ* 19 (1974) 111-112 (= Speidel).

⁵ Ritterling, P.-W. XXIV, s.v. *legio* 1486, 1510, 1591, H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1958) 159; cf. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte* (1918) 61.

⁶ Préaux, 123-130; Bowersock (1) 40-43.

latter was subsequently lost, possibly in the Second Jewish Revolt. With the Antonine garrison of Egypt and Arabia explained, it remained to bring *VI Ferrata* from Syria to Palestine. This was easily done. *VI Ferrata* is relieved at Samosata by *XVI Flavia firma*, which in turn has been relieved by the arrival of *XV Apollinaris* at Satala in Cappadocia from its former Danubian station. (2) Or *VI Ferrata* was the initial garrison of Arabia. The Second Jewish Revolt disposed of *XXII Deiotariana*, saw the transfer of *VI Ferrata* to Palestine, *III Cyrenaica* to Arabia, and *II Traiana* to be the sole legion in Egypt. The problems, as Keppie saw, were that the timing of the moves could not be reconciled, and that legion movements must have been much more complex. To cite only one of the more obvious objections to each sequence: *III Cyrenaica* is known to have been in Egypt at its fortress of Nicopolis in 119, thirteen years after its supposed move to Arabia; likewise, for the second sequence, the movement of *VI Ferrata* is linked to the arrival of *XV Apollinaris* and, since the latter did not, it seems, come East until Trajan's Parthian War, *VI Ferrata* could not be the initial garrison. In addition, one need hardly state that it is quite unacceptable to leave *II Traiana* unassigned for almost a generation before its arrival in Egypt. In short, despite the many recent studies devoted to the matter, it is only fair to say that, even now, we cannot certainly account for the movements of legions in the eastern provinces during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.⁷ The principle difficulty is, I believe, the tendency to adopt too wide a perspective in the treatment of individual pieces of evidence.

The temptation, often unconscious, is to argue back from the known; confidently to bridge gaps, however large, by reference to solid evidence at either end. In this case, with a period of 40 years to bridge, isolated pieces of evidence have been produced and used to clarify the movements of legions but without due regard for the consequences of intervening upheavals and the wider context of imperial affairs. The dangers of this approach can be well illustrated from the period before us. Whatever the rearrangements necessitated by the annexation of Arabia, they might well have been radically revised as a result of any one or more of the critical events in the East during the next three decades: Trajan's Parthian War, the revolts and insurrections in a wide area of the East during Trajan's last years and the early part of Hadrian's reign, the Parthian scare of c. 123, and the Second Jewish Revolt of 132-135 — to say nothing of possible reverberations in the East as a result of the

⁷ Bowersock, (3) 184 provides the most recent summary of the state of knowledge.

reorganization required of Hadrian at the time of his accession in dealing with the revolt in Mauretania, the upheavals on the central and lower Danube, and the war in Britain. The arrangement at the end of Hadrian's reign is a reflection of the settlement brought about by the Second Jewish Revolt; there may have been a return to the pre-132 situation but we are not entitled to assume so. In short, no arrangement we can detect at any point after c. 119/120 can be regarded as a secure indication of the arrangements in the East between 106 and 114.

My intention in this article is to examine successive phases in turn and to consider the secure evidence attributable to them, in relation only to the context of the immediately preceding phase but with close reference to wider imperial requirements. In doing so, some attempt will be made to resolve the major military problems of the eastern provinces during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, namely, the garrison of Arabia before the earliest firm attestation of *III Cyrenaica* there; the date of the transfer of *VI Ferrata* into Judaea; the date of arrival of *II Traiana* in Egypt; the occasion of loss of *XXII Deiotariana*.

These problems are, of course, interrelated, as Lawrence Keppie recognized some years ago in the context of another problem; none can be treated in isolation. Indeed the problem of the entire garrison of the eastern frontier cannot be isolated from wider imperial military considerations.

The existing evidence does not allow us to be certain about the circumstances which led to the Roman annexation of Arabia.⁸ That the last king of the Nabataeans was an old man by 106 is clear⁹ and, from known Roman procedure in other areas, we may be fairly sure that intervention followed on the death of Rabbel II in that year¹⁰ and aimed to prevent the accession of a successor. Of one matter we may be quite certain: the intervention of A. Cornelius Palma in 106 was an act of deliberate preplanned policy designed for this contingency. On the assumption that the timing of the invasion was provisional and linked to the known approaching death of the king, then, during the previous years, the Roman military strategists will have prepared for annexation knowing that events elsewhere might well preclude any involvement of

⁸ Bowersock (1) 37-39; (2) 228 f.

⁹ Rabbel became king in 71 (*CIS* II 161) succeeding a long-reigning father and grandfather. Cf. Schürer (n.48, below), 583 ff.

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV.31 (cf. Dio LXII.1-12) for the Iceni on the death of Prasutagus; *Ann.* II.42; for annexation of Commagene in A.D. 17; cf. the treatment of Herod Agrippa's kingdom on his death (*Jos.*, *Bj*, II.220). Few client kings had a successor.

troops from Europe. In short, the planners would have to take into account the fact that the annexation force and the troops for the initial garrison — certainly the legionary force — would have to come from the existing eastern armies.¹¹ In the event, the annexation took place just as Trajan was preparing to launch his great summer offensive in Dacia — a time when no legions could have been spared from Europe. What then was the situation which the planners could expect to meet in Arabia, and what were the alternatives open to them in organizing an expeditionary force and preparing for at least an initial legionary garrison?

First, the meager evidence of our sources suggests that the annexation was not entirely unopposed. In any case, Trajan's planners would have had to anticipate resistances and, consequently, would have had to assign the task to an appropriately strong army. Again, unless a man were to be drafted specifically for the task — which clearly would be impractical if the timing were linked to the death of Rabbel — then the only governor in the vicinity with the appropriate (consular) rank was the legate of Syria. The appointment of A. Cornelius Palma (subsequently, if not already, Trajan's *amicus*), a reliable man and trusted soldier, to the governorship of Syria may not have been entirely fortuitous.¹²

Second, the forces involved. Granted that the annexation force would be rather stronger than the anticipated garrison after pacification, we might reasonably assume the involvement of troops from one or more of the neighboring three provinces: Syria, Judaea, and Egypt. Furthermore, it is a reasonable assumption that the expeditionary force also included the legion earmarked for the initial garrison. Given the geographical situation of the Nabataean kingdom, we might legitimately speculate that the annexation force moved in from positions in Egypt and Syria, and, not improbably, from Judaea, coming out of the Decapolis and Peraea.¹³ We do not have the evidence for any detailed account

¹¹ The recruitment of *II Traiana* and *XXX Ulpia* was surely, in the medium term at least, a measure required for making a garrison available for Dacia. We do not know of any legionary vexillations from the East dispatched to the Danube, but the evidence of *CIL XVI* 164 of a *vexillationibus equitum ex Syria* in Pannonia inferior in 110 is of relevance here, since it not only reveals a contribution by the garrison of Syria to a Dacian War or wars but also its retention for some years, including the year of Arabia's annexation.

¹² B. Campbell, *JRS* 65 (1975) 25 f has, however, shown that the regular cursus by which a man arrived at the Syrian governorship was from the governorship of *Hispania citerior* — the same post held by Palma before Syria.

¹³ See now H. Bietenhardt, "Die Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Traian," *ZDPV* 79 (1963) for an account of this region of Jordan prior to full annexation; cf. S. T. Parker, "The Decapolis Reviewed," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975) 437-441. H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 44 (1967) 339-362, published a new

of the composition of this force and we can in any case legitimately assume that the involvement of a variety of detachments was purely temporary and dictated by short-term strategic requirements. Within a short time, the intended garrison would have relieved the temporary expeditionary forces. This brings us to the question, which legion was earmarked for the initial garrison.¹⁴

Whatever the extent of Trajan's premeditation with regard to his subsequent Parthian War,¹⁵ we can be certain that, even at the moment of annexation in 106, the military strategists could not allocate a garrison to Arabia simply on a temporary basis, in anticipation of a later, wide reorganization on the eastern frontier. The forces would have had a permanency similar to that of any other provincial garrison, and, for a number of years at least, the force would have to be sufficiently strong to meet any delayed reaction in the province.¹⁶ In short, the planners had to find a legion which could be permanently removed from its current station. Trajan had raised two new legions *c.* 104, but in 105 and 106 both were fully committed in Europe as a result of the Dacian War.¹⁷ Whatever the intentions for Trajan's two new legions, they could not

Egyptian diploma which recorded two regiments *ex translatarum in Iudaeam* in A.D. 105. In view of the date, Pflaum very plausibly proposed to see this as evidence for a pre-invasion build-up; both regiments subsequently appeared in Arabia. Cf. M. P. Speidel, "Exercitus Arabicus," *Latomus* 33 (1974) 934-939 and see now, *ANRW* II, 8 (1977) 697 f.

¹⁴ See now Speidel, *Latomus* 33 (1974) for the auxiliary garrison. The new province included not only the Nabataean kingdom but also parts of what had formerly been Syria. Consequently, it is at least a possibility that some part of the garrison of the new Arabia had long been present but as part of Syria; for example, any garrison in the Decapolis would have automatically formed part of Arabia after 106. At the moment, no certain case can be cited; however, three first-century inscriptions from Gerasa attest the presence there of a regiment of auxiliary cavalry: *ala I Augusta Thracum* (C. B. Welles *apud* C. Kraeling, *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis* 446-467, nos. 199-201). It had moved to Noricum before 106 (M. G. Jarrett, *IEJ* 19 [1969] 217) but it seems highly improbable that there were no auxiliary units in the Decapolis in 106 apart from those mustering for the invasion. Indeed, it might be suggested that the disposition of some of the auxilia in Syria prior to 106 may be inferred from their subsequent appearance in Arabia.

¹⁵ F. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford 1948), 164-190.

¹⁶ Just how much possible reaction the Roman planners need have taken account of is debatable; E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford 1916) 50, observed that with the single exception of the Jews, no Semitic people put up any national resistance to Rome.

¹⁷ A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines* (1974) 324 ff; cf. Lepper (above, n.15) 173 and note 11 above.

be used, directly or indirectly, to make available a garrison for Arabia until after the Dacian War, a date which could not have been confidently predicted in early 106. Furthermore, the requirements of Dacia had to be considered — a permanent strong garrison would be unavoidable there too for some years.

There was really only one solution: both Cappadocia and Syria required their existing legionary forces for internal and external security — indeed, they may have been under strength as a result of vexillations sent to the Dacian War;¹⁸ Judaea could not lose its sole legion. Only Egypt could be regarded as having an available force, two legions, and no serious external or internal threat to security. Roman military planners in the period immediately prior to Arabia's annexation can have had no alternative to choosing an Egyptian legion for the core of the annexation force and as the initial garrison.¹⁹ We must now consider the evidence for this first phase.

In the late first century Egypt had two legions in garrison: *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana*,²⁰ and it must be said at once that for the period of 106–114 we have no reliable evidence for or against a reduction of that force. What we do have is a piece of evidence for men of an unnamed legion in Arabia in March 107 and February 108.

1. *P. Mich.* VII, nos. 465–466. From Karanis, Egypt. Extracts.

... I give thanks to Sarapis and Good Fortune that while all are 465
labouring the whole day through at cutting stones I as an officer
move about doing nothing.

19/20 February, (108).²¹

Julius Apollinarius to Julius Sabinus, his dearest father very many 466
greetings . . . Things are going well for me. After Sarapis conducted
me hither in safety, while others . . . all day long were cutting
building stones and doing other things, until today I endured none
of these hardships; but indeed I asked Claudius Severus (?) the
consularis (ὕπατικός) to make me a secretary on his own staff and he
said: "There is no vacancy, but meanwhile I shall make you a
secretary of the legion with hopes of advancement." With this

¹⁸ See above note 11.

¹⁹ Professor Frere has made the very attractive suggestion that the anticipation of the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom may be why the surplus Egyptian legion was not moved to the Danube for the Dacian campaigns.

²⁰ Lesquier (above, n.5) 40–63.

²¹ Dr. Mann kindly drew my attention to the revised dating of *P. Mich.* VII, 465 from 107 to 108: R. W. Davies, "Joining the Roman Army," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169 (1969) 226 and note 104.

assignment, therefore, I went from the *consularis* (ὕπατικός) of the legion to the *cornicularius* . . . Volusius Proclus salutes you, as do Longinus Paccius, Valerius Sempronius, Valerius Herma . . . , Julius Priscus, Apollinarius . . . ion, and all their comrades. Salute Julia my lady sister and . . . the father of Paccius . . .

I am grateful to Volusius and Longinus Barbarus. You will tell the firm of Aphrodisas, the son of the condiment dealer, that they enrolled me in the cohort at Bostra. It lies 8 days' journey from Petra and . . .

26 March, 107.²²

The letters are in the same hand and evidently from a legionary, Julius Apollinarius, serving in Arabia, to his father at Karanis in Egypt. That Apollinarius and a number of his comrades are Egyptian is clear (he names several known to his father and one has his own father living sufficiently close to be greeted by the father of Apollinarius). The most reasonable explanation is that Apollinarius is serving in a legion until recently situated in Egypt.²³

We have no evidence to suggest a lengthy campaign and the letters of Apollinarius, written some 12 months after the invasion, contain no hint of hostility; indeed, he remarks on the daily arrival of caravans from Egypt and is looking forward to getting leave!²⁴ Two points must be made: first, any run-down of forces would be cautious; Rome had recent

²² *P. Mich.* IX, 562 refers to a C. Julius Apollinarius who gives his legion as *III Cyrenaica*. The date is 119 and the letter comes from the same building (granary C123) at Karanis as the letters cited here above and a number of others. Husselman (pp. 5-8) classifies these as the Apollinarius Archive. Professor Speidel saw here evidence that the initial garrison of Arabia was *III Cyrenaica* (Speidel 111-112) but more recently Professor Bowersock has questioned the identification (Bowersock [3] 184). The latter draws attention to the "neat practised hand" of 465 and 466 and the "untidy scrawl" of 562. The point need not be conclusive: Husselman's reconstruction of the family of Apollinarius, together with the association of the letters is a strong case for identification and we need not expect a continuity of style or appearance between the handwriting of a young man in his late teens and the mature soldier some 12 years later; it is not unusual for the handwriting of a man appointed to a position as a secretary (*librarius legionis* in Apollinarius' case) to deteriorate with the need for speed, abbreviations, etc. Indeed, some, even all, of the letters may have been the work of a scribe.

²³ Professor Bowersock has questioned this conclusion of Madame Préaux; he cites the transfer of Egyptian marines from the Misenum fleet into *X Frentensis* in Judaea c. 132 as a possible parallel case. Keppie 861, n.12, rightly advises caution, since the latter was clearly an abnormal event related to the pressures induced by the Second Jewish Revolt. Nothing in the letters of Apollinarius suggests he has been transferred to another legion.

²⁴ *P. Mich.* 466, 36-40.

experience in Dacia of latent rebellion. For some years the garrison would need to be kept up to full strength both for pacification and for building work. Forts and roads were built²⁵ and detachments of troops would have to be maintained in a number of population centers.

The second point is that A. Cornelius Palma seems soon to have been replaced in Arabia; understandably, since he was a senior senator and he was, after all, still governor of Syria: annexation completed, a longer stay would have been effective demotion. This brings us to the question of the governors of the province.

Apollinarius describes the governor as ὑπατικός that is, *consularis*; the governors of Arabia, however, were praetorian in rank. Professor Bowersock has reasonably observed that since the Greek ὑπατικός regularly meant no more than "governor" the usage here need not be a stumbling block. Again, even if Apollinarius was using it in the narrower sense, it need be regarded as no more than an understandable error; until very recently, the forces in Arabia *had* been commanded by a *consularis*, Cornelius Palma.

The identity of the governor in question presented no problem to the editors of the two papyri and has been followed since.²⁶ C. Claudius Severus is attested as governor in 111 and again as late as 115;²⁷ the editors therefore restored 466, lines 25–26 as: Κλαύδιον, Σε[ουῆ]ρ[ο]ν, thereby pushing back the start of the governorship to at least early 107. A term of office of c. 111–115 would under normal circumstances have been regarded as reasonable; can the same be said of a span from at least early 107 until 115? ²⁸

The next question to consider is that of Apollinarius' legion. As we have seen, the logical deduction is that we are dealing with an Egyptian legion. Of the two legions in Egypt, we have not a single shred of evidence for *XXII Deiotariana* in Arabia at any time. Since *III Cyrenaica* was the Arabian garrison in later years, it left a great many reminders behind, of which none can be firmly dated before the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nevertheless, in view of the apparent Egyptian origin of Apollinarius and some of his companions, the probability is that we

²⁵ The construction of a road network was a major undertaking and the fact that the earliest date we have on one of the many Arabian milestones is III (*CIL* III, 14199.50) probably reflects the preoccupation in the preceding four years with fort-building, likewise a major work especially since the lack of timber would have required most to be built in stone from the outset.

²⁶ Bowersock (2), 235.

²⁷ *PIR*² C1023.

²⁸ I hope to examine the question of the early governors of Arabia in a subsequent paper.

are dealing with an Egyptian legion. It would follow that legion was the garrison in the early period of occupation after 106, perhaps for the entire phase to c. 114.²⁹

Finally, as Madame Préaux remarked, the marginal note at the end of Apollinarius' second letter is most interesting.³⁰ "You will tell the firm of Aphrodas, the son of the condiment maker, that they enrolled me in the cohort at Bostra. It lies 8 days' journey from Petra and . . ." The clear implication is that Apollinarius is communicating a change in his location: "the cohort *at Bostra*" rather than, as formerly, the cohort somewhere else prior to his promotion. The point is emphasized, since Bostra is then located for the reader by being put in terms of the known: "It lies 8 days' journey from Petra." An obvious interpretation is that before moving to Bostra, Apollinarius had been stationed at Petra.³¹

2. C.-M. Bennett and D. L. Kennedy, "A New Roman Military Inscription from Petra," *Levant* 10 (1978) 163-165 is a new piece of evidence from Petra of interest in this connection.

C. *Antonius Valens*, / *equ. leg. III Cyr.*, / 7 [.] *propitiani* (?), *vixit* / *an. XXIV*, *mil. V* (or *m(ensis) IV*). / *H. s.*

Both *nomen* and *cognomen* are common, but especially in Egypt. Several instances of soldiers in Egypt called Antonius Valens are known and, where dated, are of the first century and first half of the second.³² It is worth remarking, too, that the use of the nominative on an epitaph usually implies a date close to the first decade of the second century.³³

²⁹ Madame Préaux reached this conclusion in 1950 but was, in part at least, influenced by her finding that *II Traiana* arrived in Egypt some time before 109. Professor Bowersock has since remarked that the evidence on which she based her *terminus ante quem* of 109 is in fact datable to 128 and that we have no evidence earlier than 127 for *II Traiana* in Egypt. It will be readily seen from the discussion above that the arrival of a new legion in the East was not a prerequisite for the freeing of a particular legion for Arabia; it would be interesting to know the whereabouts of *II Traiana* in the period 106-c. 114 but legionary movements in the East were not dependent upon it.

³⁰ Préaux, 32 f.

³¹ The post taken up by Apollinarius, *librarius legionis*, would have placed him on the administrative staff at the legionary headquarters at Bostra. He may already have been at Bostra although the likelihood is that the legion was scattered throughout the new territory in detachments. The reference, "they enrolled me in the cohort at Bostra," strongly implies a transfer to Bostra at the time of his promotion. I envisage him in a detachment at Petra until 107, when promotion required him to join the headquarters cohort.

³² Bennett and Kennedy.

³³ J. C. Mann, "A Note on the Inscription from Kurnub," *IEJ* 19 (1969) 211.

If Valens had been recruited while his legion was still in Egypt, it might be argued that at least a detachment of the legion was based around Petra in the early years of the province: not later than 111, given Valens' possible early death in service. The interpretation cannot be pressed, however: Valens may not be Egyptian; or he may be Egyptian but recruited on an occasion other than just prior to 106. In addition the date is insecure. It does, however, accord with the broadly contemporary evidence of the Apollinarius letters, and, furthermore, a detachment at Petra would suit the early strategic requirements of the province.

Nothing more can be said about this early phase; definitive evidence is still lacking but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the initial garrison was an Egyptian legion, very probably *III Cyrenaica*.³⁴

The next phase in which we might expect changes in the garrison of Arabia occurs during Trajan's Parthian War. The upheavals caused by the war itself, and by the immediately subsequent rebellions throughout a wide area of the East, certainly caused large-scale troop movements. Evidence relating to *III Cyrenaica* during this period is more plentiful. An inscription from the triumphal arch at Dura-Europos has been restored to show involvement by the legion on the Syrian frontier.³⁵ Its date is 115. Much more reliable as an indicator of involvement in the war of at least a detachment of *III Cyrenaica* is a career inscription mentioning military decorations awarded to a *tribunus laticlavius* of the legion by Trajan.³⁶ Next, in 116/7, a vexillation of the legion made a dedication at Jerusalem *pro salute et victoria*,³⁷ and, finally, a papyrus of 119 records an order which is to be posted at the camp of the legions *XXII Deiotariana* and *III Cyrenaica* at Nicopolis in Egypt.³⁸ It is this last piece of evidence which has raised difficulties; Lesquier, followed by many others — even after the paper of Madame Préaux — cited this

³⁴ A piece of evidence to be discussed in the next section shows *III Cyrenaica* in Egypt in 119 and led to the belief that it had never left. In addition to the discussion above in favor of its having been the initial garrison of Arabia we might consider the negative evidence from Egypt. R. Cavenaille, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), has collected the evidence for soldiers of the Roman garrison of Egypt. From it I have extracted those references to *III Cyrenaica* which are precisely datable to a year. The two latest are for 104/105 and 119; a gap of some 14 years. During the preceding 50 years the longest gap between attestations is 9 years (between 56/57 and 65) with an average of 4. Statistically, therefore, a gap of 14 years might indicate an absence of a substantial length.

³⁵ *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fourth Season*, 56-65; *Sixth Season* 480-482.

³⁶ D. Blackman, *Akta VI Int. Kong. Gk. Lt. Epig: 1972* (= *Vestigia* 17), 566-568 — "ἐν τῷ Παρθικῷ πολέμῳ".

³⁷ *CIL* III, 13587.

³⁸ *BGU* I, 140 = Smallwood, no. 333.

papyrus as evidence that *III Cyrenaica* was in Egypt throughout the reign of Trajan and did not go to Arabia until after 119.³⁹ This conclusion required a Syrian legion as the initial garrison, which, as I have argued, was not likely to be the case.

Considering for the moment only the period of warfare and upheaval, c. 114–119/120, the evidence is clear: a vexillation at least of *III Cyrenaica* participated in Trajan's Parthian War; a vexillation was in Judaea at a time when the war in Syria and Mesopotamia was largely over but when armies were being deployed against the Jewish rebels in Egypt and Cyrenaica and Judaea was uneasy. The extent of these uprisings is clear from the sources: in Cyrene even the roads were torn up and deaths ran into hundreds of thousands.⁴⁰ Under the circumstances, we need not be surprised if the garrison of Egypt was maintained at its former strength, even *after* the suppression of the revolts. Trajan had considered it necessary to delegate to his best general, Lusius Quietus; and Hadrian superseded the latter by his own trusted man, Marcius Turbo. The rebellion was a serious one and centered on a critically important province: a hasty reduction of the strengthened garrison was unlikely. In short, the presence of two legions at Nicopolis is understandable in 119; it is the fact that they are the same two as were there before the annexation of Arabia, which has been the stumbling block. Consequently a search was made for an alternative initial garrison for Arabia.

Before looking at the suggested alternative garrison let us first consider the presence of *III Cyrenaica* in Egypt in 119. Given that large forces had to be despatched against the Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica in c. 116, where were the troops to come from? Certainly not in any strength from Cappadocia or Syria, or the simmering Judaea, all of which were insecure. Some of the drafts of legionaries from Europe were available, but the accession of Hadrian coincided with a crisis on the Danube which will have required their immediate return. The most critical of the situations faced by Hadrian on his accession was not so much the immediate one before him on the Parthian front, as the holocausts in the Jewish areas of the southeastern Mediterranean, the crisis in Dacia and Moesia and war in Britain. It was a problem of staggering proportions, compounded by Hadrian's insecurity and the dubious fidelity of Trajan's generals. As we know, Hadrian abandoned Trajan's recent

³⁹ Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte* (1918) 63; still cited by the editor of *Michigan Papyri IX* (1971) 101; Salmon, *A History of the Roman World* 6 (1968) 279: *VI Ferrata*.

⁴⁰ Cassius Dio, *LXVIII.32.1–3*; *AE* (1928) 1–2; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* IV.2.

eastern conquests and soon contemplated relinquishing Dacia.⁴¹ Trajan's only other annexation, Arabia, and its garrison will have come in for close scrutiny. Under other circumstances the European vexillations already in the East for the Parthian war could have been deployed against the rebels in Egypt and Cyrenaica. Since they had to be returned to Europe to meet the threat on the undermanned Danube front, the choice before Hadrian and his planners left little room to maneuver: only the garrison legion of Arabia (apparently untroubled in the crisis) was available for service against these Jewish rebels and could be retained after their suppression. That legion was most probably *III Cyrenaica*, a legion which, in part at least, had already been absent from its province during the recent Parthian War. In the emergency of these years, given the warfare elsewhere in the Empire, it might well have seemed to the imperial authorities that Arabia could spare its entire legion — security being left to the *auxilia* with, perhaps, supervision from the legions in a neighboring province. Hence, in the first years of Hadrian, the legion *III Cyrenaica* was to be found back at Nicopolis — its pre-106 base. As the crisis receded, steps could be taken to rectify the situation in Arabia; but the extent and duration of the rebellion in Egypt and Cyrenaica would prevent *III Cyrenaica* returning to Arabia, at least at an early date.

The security of this conclusion now seems to be supported by one of the recent epigraphic discoveries at Phaselis in Asia.⁴² The greater part of the *cursus* of Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus was already well known; the new discovery is the lower part of the inscription (lines 14–20). The known upper portion had concluded: *χειλίαρχου πλατύσημον / λεγεῶνος γ' K[υρ]ηναικῆς καὶ λε / [. . .* We may now complete this text: *. . . λε / γεῶνο[ς δ]ωδε[κά]της κε[ρ]α[υν]ο / φόρου, δώροις στρατιωτικοῖς / ὑπὸ Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ ἐν τῶι / Παρθικῷ πολέμῳ δωρηθέντα, . . .* The decorations awarded in the Parthian War will have been for services while serving his tribunate: in which legion is not clear. The important point, of course, is that Saxa, as a man of senatorial rank specifically cited as *tribunus laticlavius*, would not have served in *III Cyrenaica* while it remained part of the garrison of equestrian Egypt. The conclusion seems inescapable: at the time of Trajan's Parthian War, *III Cyrenaica* was no longer based in, or operating out of, Egypt. Taken in conjunction with the preceding discussion this new evidence must surely provide

⁴¹ SHA, *Hadrian* V.3–4; IX.1; XXI.10–12; Eutropius, *Breviarium*, VIII.6.2.

⁴² Blackman, note 35 above. I am most grateful to Dr. Blackman for making a full transcription of the text available to me in advance of publication.

strong support that the initial garrison of Arabia was *III Cyrenaica*.⁴³

The question of an alternative legionary garrison for Arabia is best dealt with in the context of the next phase in which the evidence belongs. The activities of the eastern legions in this second phase, c. 114–119/120, are quite straightforward: the legions of Armenia and Syria will have been fully committed in the Armenian and Parthian campaigns and we have evidence for the involvement of detachments at least of *III Cyrenaica* and *X Fretensis*.⁴⁴ The absence of evidence for *XXII Deiotariana* need cause no surprise, given the otherwise very full participation by all the other eastern legions; the more so since it now appears from the deductions above to have been the sole legion in Egypt between 106 and the beginning of the eastern wars. The successful suppression of the revolts in Mesopotamia in 115 freed the troops gathered for the wars, but some of them were immediately required to deal with the great Jewish uprisings in Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus. Hence, apparently, the dedication by *III Cyrenaica* at Jerusalem in that year of revolts, 116/117, and its subsequent appearance in Egypt, a crucially important province for the Empire. That importance is mirrored by the retention of two legions at Nicopolis at least as late as 119. Under the circumstances of the intense fighting after 114 serious consideration must be given to the possibility that the Roman high command gave a low priority to the retention of a legion in Arabia; how much more so after the revolts began in 116. It is quite possible that for a short period between 116/117 and 119 there was no legion in Arabia even on a nominal basis. By 119 the situation had changed once more. Egypt and Cyrenaica were at peace but still in the shadow of traumatic upheaval; Cappadocia and Syria, however, were tranquil and there was again a legionary presence in Arabia — certainly by 119, as we shall see. By 119 the eastern frontier, shorn of Trajan's ambitious conquests, was essentially restored to the pre-114 line, but a line along which the legions could not yet be distributed as before the war.

The period now to be discussed is a long one taking us through to the Second Jewish Revolt of 132–135, but falling into two parts on either side of the Parthian scare of c. 123. First, the situation in Arabia. We

⁴³ It is tempting to speculate on the reason behind Saxa's second legionary tribunate: was it because his legion, *III Cyrenaica*, was returned to Egypt under equestrian command towards the end of Trajan's reign, thereby making his position impossible? Trajan had sent an equestrian, Marcius Turbo, to put down the rebels in equestrian Egypt (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* IV.2).

⁴⁴ Lepper (above, n.15) 175 *III Cyr.* (*Dura Reports*, VI, 480); *X Fr.* (*ILS* 2727; *AE* [1935] 167).

have only one datable piece of evidence for the garrison of Arabia in this period; unfortunately the precise date is disputed. The evidence is an inscription from Gerasa first published in 1923 and republished in a revised form in 1938.⁴⁵ The precise date is a crucial one and merits a detailed discussion.

EXCURSUS

The text is inscribed on a marble slab which was reworked for use as a column base, losing an indeterminate part of the text in the process. Epigraphically, there are losses to the text which we can be certain of, at the top and on the left edge, with a probable loss along the lower edge. Jones was inclined to believe that, although damaged on the right edge, *epigraphically* the text may not have extended beyond the visible letters in lines 4 and 5. Welles reprinted the text with some corrections to the first and last lines and provided some suggested restorations as follows:

trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X] pia[e] fidelis
proc(uratori) provinc(iae)] Arabiae
milites?] leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)
imp(eratore) Caes(are) T]raiano Hadriano
Aug(usto) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI] V III co(n)s(ule)
fece[runt] ex AVN[

Like Jones before him, Welles restored *tr. p. XIV* in line 6 "because that is the year of all the other Hadrianic texts in the city." More recently, Professor Bowersock took issue with this, observing that *III cos.* looked odd for *cos. III* and suggested that the mason may simply have spaced an intended *tr. p. VIII*, that is, . . . *trib. pot. V*] *III cos* [*III*].⁴⁶

I had the good fortune to be able to examine the inscription personally in the summer of 1978 at Gerasa, and the text is best appreciated from the photograph (fig. 1). In line 7, the suggested . . . *ex AVN* [. . . cannot stand; the A is certain but the next letter is based on a vertical and must be E, F, I, L, or T. The "third" letter is in fact parts of two letters: one based on a vertical, the other on a diagonal which begins in the top left — the angle would tend to rule out λ (= A) which is less acute. There is in fact only one alternative: X. Again, the sense of the text would make *origo* appropriate in this line and I am inclined to restore

⁴⁵ A. H. M. Jones, *JRS* 18 (1928) 146 f, no. 30; C. B. Welles, *apud* Kraeling, *Gerasa* 435, no. 171, pl. 134b.

⁴⁶ Bowersock (1) 43; followed by Keppie, 860, n.10; cf. Sartre, 85.



FIG. 1

Λ ΛΕΞ[ΑΝΔΡΙΑ]. However that may be, the crucial line is the sixth. That we are dealing with part of the titulature of Hadrian is quite clear; what I do not accept is the reading of the line and its interpretation. As Professor Bowersock has noted, the form *III cos.* is unusual.

Previous readings saw the letter before *III cos.* as the numeral V. There are drawbacks: the numerals in the text all have a horizontal bar above and here we would expect \bar{V} . There is in fact a mark above the letter but it is at an oblique angle, not horizontal. Again, both bars of the V reach to a notional guideline on which the lettering stands but they do not meet. A solution is suggested by a letter at the opposite end of the same line where we have an example of the letter S showing that, like the C, it is cut larger than the other letters in the line. The marks at the

beginning of line 6 are perfectly consistent with a damaged S: the upper tail and diagonal body of the letter. Consequent upon this restoration is the necessity for recognizing that we have in fact two letters before *III cos*. The second is based on a vertical and must be E, F, I, L, or T. I have no hesitation in reading T: cf. the T in the line below and, if I am correct, above in line 2, which have very brief horizontal bars.

My revised reading and suggested partial restoration is:

..U]lpiae fideli[..
 provinciae ?] Arabiae
 vexill(ationis)]leg.VI Ferr(atae)
 imp(eratore)Caes(are)T]raiano Hadriano
 Aug(usto)trib.pote]st. III cos [III]
 ...]runt ex Alēx[andria]

The precise nature of the text eludes me; although I do not regard it as a *cursus*. What is clear is the date: 10 December 118–9 December 119. Without knowing more about the nature of the inscription, we cannot be sure that it is evidence for *VI Ferrata* in Arabia. However, it is likely that the legion *was* in Arabia.

Recently, M. Sartre has republished an inscription from Bostra, the relevant part of which he reads as: *T. Flavius M.f. | Col(lina) Marcianus | domo Philad(elphia) op(tio) | hast(ati) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) ... etc ...*⁴⁷ M. Sartre plausibly dates the text before the mid-century and is probably correct in believing that a soldier of this *origo* is most reasonably buried at Bostra if his legion had been stationed there.⁴⁸

To this evidence for *VI Ferrata* in Arabia in the first half of the second century we can now add an unpublished text recorded by myself in 1976.

3. The top left part of a broken building inscription now in the

⁴⁷ Sartre, 86 = *AE* (1974) 659 (= *AE* [1909] 132).

⁴⁸ Cf., however, *ILS* 9168 (= *AE* [1896] 27 = *CIL* III, 13483[a]; and see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 2nd ed., 365 n.54): *Proculus Rabili f. Col. Philadel. mil. optio coh. II Italic. c.R. 7, Fa[us]tino, ex vexil. sagit. exer. Syriaci stip. VII, vixit an. XXVI. Apuleius frater f.c.* The text is plausibly dated to pre-A.D. 73 and we are certainly dealing with a Syrian from Amman recruited probably in the early 60s. See also *CIL*, XVI, 159: *cohort II milliariae sagittar ... equiti Domitio Domiti f., Philad.* Domitius, discharged in Mauretania in January 88, must have been enrolled in 62/63. The date is significant for both of these men (and Apuleius?) as the time of the disaster suffered by Caesennius Paetus in Armenia and the subsequent campaign by Corbulo against Parthia. The burial of Marcianus at Bostra is, however, inclined to tell against a date earlier than 106.

grounds of the Citadel Museum, Amman, Jordan. Red sandstone.⁴⁹ Dimensions: across middle = 43 cm.; across lower edge = 47 cm.; height = 49 cm.; thickness = 24 cm. Heavily damaged on all sides: right edge and lower edge are incomplete; top and left edges are broken but preserve original form and the text is undamaged there. The text is set within a slightly raised molding now lost on the right and lower part: where it survives it is 11 cm. from the left edge, 8 cm. from the top. The beginning of lines 1 and 2 are preserved and possibly a slight trace of a letter top in what would have been line 3. Letter height: 1 = 8 cm.; line 2 = 7.4 cm. Letters are well cut in a monumental style. Provenance not recorded (see figs. 2a and 2b).

VEXIL[...
LEG.V[...
[... (?)

The nature of the inscription is quite clear: such building inscriptions are common from all over the Empire, for example, *RIB* 2180 from Auchendavy on the Antonine Wall: *vex(illatio) / leg(ionis) II[Au]g(ustae)*, where (*fecit*) is understood. It has long been official policy in Jordan not to move such antiquities further than to the nearest museum, so that we may be fairly sure that the stone was found in or near Amman.⁵⁰

The restoration of line 1 is certainly VEXIL[LATIO]; line 2 presents few problems. Several legions could have their number and name restored after V[...] in a space for at least 5 letters. Most, however, can be swiftly eliminated: there is no evidence ever to connect such legions as *VI Victrix*, *VII Gemina* or *VIII Augusta* with the eastern provinces; *V Alaudae* was destroyed on the Danube in the reign of Domitian. It would be a bold man who restored V[IIII Hisp.]! There are in fact only three serious contenders: *V Macedonica*, *VI Ferrata*, and *VII Claudia p.f.* The former is known from several inscriptions in Palestine,⁵¹ and the latter participated in Trajan's Parthian War.⁵² However, given the evidence cited above, it would be unnecessarily cautious to consider

⁴⁹ I am very grateful to Dr. Adnan Hadidi, Director General of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, for permission to publish this inscription.

⁵⁰ The museum records do not record the acquisition of the inscription. Mr. Gerald Harding, Director of Antiquities as from 1936–56, now resident again in Amman, was unable to recall the arrival of the stone but confirmed that it is highly unlikely that it would have been moved any great distance.

⁵¹ J. H. Landau, *Atiqot*, 11 (1976), 89–90: Neronian; M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 8 (1939) 57 f: Hadrianic.

⁵² Ritterling, *R.E.*, s.v. *legio* 1298, 1561, 1622.



FIG. 2a



FIG. 2b

seriously any other restoration than: *Vexil[latio] / leg(ionis) V[I Ferr(atae)] / (fecit)*.⁵³

The lettering is broadly similar to that on building inscriptions from Judaea of *X Fretensis* and *VI Ferrata*, which are dated to Hadrian's reign. However, one cannot press similarity of lettering too far, especially on monumental inscriptions, where the tendency was always to archaize the letter form.⁵⁴ Certainly, once *III Cyrenaica* was firmly settled into Arabia and *VI Ferrata* into Iudaea — as both were from the reign of Antoninus at least — there can have been little opportunity or cause for the latter to be involved in building work in Arabia which might have given rise to this text.

What are the implications of this evidence, pointing as it does to a vexillation or more of *VI Ferrata* in Arabia in the very early years of Hadrian's reign? The explanation is probably that the gradual settlement of the East in the early years of Hadrian made troops available, once more, for a full garrisoning of the frontier provinces on the same basis as before 114. By 119/120, the geographical extent of the eastern frontier provinces was returned to that of 106–114 and tranquillity was restored. There was, however, a problem: *III Cyrenaica* was now, again, in Egypt which was once more felt to require two legions — in the short term at least — in view of the recent insurrection. On the other hand, there had been developments in the north and in Europe which could solve the problem. When Trajan began to muster his forces for the Parthian War he brought the legion *XV Apollinaris* east with him. This legion had previously been stationed at Carnuntum, but had been replaced there by *XIV Gemina* before the end of Trajan's reign.⁵⁵ The accession of Hadrian and the crisis on the Danube would certainly have seen the return of the European units — including *XV Apollinaris* — to the Balkans. The personal attention of Hadrian in 117/118 and of his able lieutenant Marcius Turbo thereafter seems to have brought stability and strength back to the Danube frontier. The restored Pannonian and Moesian frontier, however, now had one legion more than before Trajan's last wars: *XIV Gemina*, itself replaced by *X Gemina* at Vindobona, had moved into Carnuntum, the former base of *XV Apollinaris*. Dacia was settled and the Rhine had been strengthened by the arrival

⁵³ Cf. the very similar building inscriptions for this legion from the high-level aqueduct at Caesarea Maritima and elsewhere in Palestine: Lifshitz, 109–111; N. Tzori, *IEJ* 21 (1971) 53–54.

⁵⁴ G. Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter*, 18.

⁵⁵ There is in fact no evidence for the participation of *XV Apollinaris* in the Parthian War; the conclusion is based on its departure from Carnuntum and its availability. Ritterling, 1284, 1754; F. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 176.

of *XXX Ulpia* from Brigetio.⁵⁶ The greater need was in the East and it was surely now, not later than *c.* 122 when the Rhine-Danube legionary distribution was taking shape, that *XV Apollinaris* would have been again moved to the East; this time permanently. In the East, Hadrian's peaceful settlement of Armenia and Mesopotamia would have calmed these fronts, but the bitter uprisings further south must have drawn troops down from Syria and/or Cappadocia. Precisely what happened at this juncture is obscure, but the evidence for *VI Ferrata*, if correctly dated, indicates what logic would have suggested: the legion from the central sector of the Euphrates frontier — Samosata on the boundary between Cappadocia and Syria — was drawn south to cover the insecure and more vulnerable regions of southern Syria, Arabia, and Judaea. The large Jewish population at Antioch will have ruled out using either of the legions in northwest Syria (at Cyrrhus and Raphanae).

The earliest datable evidence for Cappadocian legionary bases is long after our current phase, but it is notable that under Antoninus the base of *VI Ferrata* at Samosata is occupied by *XVI Flavia* from Satala,⁵⁷ while Satala itself has *XV Apollinaris* as garrison. The timing of the move of *VI Ferrata* from Samosata could not reasonably be expected until the newly restored lands in Armenia and Mesopotamia were seen to be settled; probably not before 118/119. One can only speculate that the transfer of *VI Ferrata* was closely linked to the arrival of *XV Apollinaris* from Europe. In view of my revised date for the Gerasene inscription, we must either infer that *XV Apollinaris* moved back as early as 119 or that Syria was deprived of all or part of *VI Ferrata* for a short period between 119–*c.* 122.

But what was happening in Egypt while *VI Ferrata* was operating in Arabia? We have already seen that at the close of the second phase, Egypt had as garrison *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana*. Our next datable evidence concerning the former has been shown to refer to *c.* 123. In that year, we are told by the *Historia Augusta* that there was a threat of renewed war with Parthia;⁵⁸ indeed, Hadrian seems to have broken off his western journey and traveled direct from Spain (or Mauretania) to Syria in order to deal with the crisis personally, clearly a crisis of some magnitude.⁵⁹ A career inscription from Lugdunum refers to military preparations to counter the Parthian threat: a senator,

⁵⁶ I owe this information to Professor Frere. See A. Mocsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London 1974) 99 for the distribution of legions from Hadrian onwards in those three provinces.

⁵⁷ See now T. B. Mitford, *JRS* 64 (1974) 168.

⁵⁸ SHA, *Hadr.* XII 7–8.

⁵⁹ Garzetti (above, n.17) 380.

Ti. Claudius Quartinus is made [*praep(ositus) vex(illationum)? or leg(atus?)*] *iussu imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti)[legionis] II Traian(is) fort(is) et III Cyre[naic(ae)]*.⁶⁰ That these two particular legions should have been associated under a joint command strongly suggests that they were stationed in close proximity, almost certainly in the same province.⁶¹ I have argued that for *III Cyrenaica* that province is Egypt, and in consequence the text may be taken to imply that these two legions were the Egyptian garrison as early as 123 and that *XXII Deiotariana* was already gone from Egypt by that date. It is not proof, but it is one of the more acceptable interpretations and gains additional credibility if the reading by Professor Negev of a badly mutilated epitaph from Mampis in the Negev is correct. He could distinguish the name of *III Cyrenaica* and believed that lower down on the text there might be a reference to *II Traiana fortis*.⁶² Certainly, Hadrian can only have had time to collect the legions in, at most, the five military provinces nearest Parthia and, in view of the new milestone naming *II Traiana* in Judaea in 120, Keppie's suggestion that it was there from 117 or soon after seems the best interpretation.⁶³

The datable evidence is almost exhausted for this phase. In 127 and 128 we have the earliest certain evidence for *II Traiana* in garrison in Egypt; whether alone or with another legion the evidence does not allow

⁶⁰ *ILS* 5919. Significantly, Quartinus had been *iuridicus* of Hispania citerior at the time of his appointment. See now G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 79–81, for the occasion and the date.

⁶¹ Cf. Dessau, III, 1, App. VII, 461–462, for numerous examples of expeditionary forces from individual provinces being placed under a unified command and kept distinct from such forces from other provinces even within the same army group. It was not common to place detachments from different provinces under one commander except where obviously suitable, e.g., *ILS* 1153 (the German legions) and 1147 (Dacian legions). J. F. Gilliam, *AJP* 77 (1956) 366 n.28 has made the same suggestion.

⁶² I am grateful to Professor Negev for providing me with this information in a private communication dated 16 May 1977. It is interesting that Hadrian saw fit to import a senator for the special command rather than placing the vexillations under one or other of the equestrian prefects or their equestrian tribunes. Presumably etiquette required that the commander of such a large legionary force should not belong to a lower social order than, for example, the probably senatorial commander of the vexillations from either the Judaeian legion or the Cappadocian legions (whether the legate or the *tribunus laticlavus*). The status of Quartinus, a senator commanding soldiers from Egypt, does not discredit any arguments above regarding Voconius Saxa.

⁶³ B. Isaac and I. Roll, "Legio II Traiana in Judaea," *ZPE* (1979) 149–156: Keppie, 863, 864.

us to conclude.⁶⁴ The location of *III Cyrenaica* in this phase is not specifically attested by any evidence. We have already seen a vexillation from it involved in measures during the Parthian scare of c. 123; now we must consider a most interesting piece of evidence referring to the year 126.

4. The evidence in question is Hadrian's *adlocutio* to the legion *III Augusta* at Lambaesis in July 128. In it the emperor remarked: *quod ante annum tertium cohortem et qua[ternos] ex centuris in supplementum comparum tertianorum dedistis*.⁶⁵ It is useless to devote too much time to deciding whether the legion in question was *III Gallica*, at Raphaneae in northwest Syria, or *III Cyrenaica*. From the recorded origins of the personnel⁶⁶ of these two legions the following emerges:⁶⁷ *III Gallica*, probables from Matera (?) (*ILS* 9492) and Thuburbo Maius (*CIL* VIII, 23989); *III Cyrenaica*, a probable from Cirta (*CIL* VIII, 5678) and, the sole clear piece of evidence, a soldier from *Karth(ago)* buried at Bostra and with the common African name of Silvanus.⁶⁸ One might go on to cite both proximity and the lack of a motive in the case of *III Gallica*, as additional reasons for preferring *III Cyrenaica*, but firm proof is lacking. Suffice it to say that such a transfer is likely to have been to the legion *III Cyrenaica* and that the single certainly attested *origo* available supports that belief.

Having assumed that the legion III in question is the *III Cyrenaica*, we must ask why it required an extraordinary draft in c. 126. The Empire was at peace; the Parthian scare, which would have been an occasion for bringing garrisons up to strength, had passed at least two years earlier. The special draft — from Africa among other western provinces — into *II Traiana* in 132–133 is perfectly intelligible in the light of the heavy reinforcements required by the neighboring legions in the face of the Second Jewish revolt.⁶⁹ Legion *II Traiana* received this draft essentially because the normal recruiting area was unable to make

⁶⁴ *CIL*, III, 42; *CIL*, III, 14147⁶ (cf. Bowersock [1] 42 and note); cf. Keppie 862 and note.

⁶⁵ *ILS* 2487. "Three years ago you gave up one cohort and four men from each century to help out your comrades of the Third (legion)."

⁶⁶ G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (Rome 1953), 221 f and *ANRW* II, I, 339–391, bringing the former up to date.

⁶⁷ I am indebted to Dr. J. C. Mann for most of the references in this section and for his observations on Africans in eastern legions.

⁶⁸ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1967).

⁶⁹ *AE* (1955) 238; J. Gilliam, *AJP* 77 (1956) 357–365 for a discussion of origins of the soldiers.

good the losses to the strength; this, I believe, is the explanation of the draft of some 700 men from *III Augusta* in c. 126. There is no reason to assume any warfare in the year 126; simply that the legion was unable to make good the losses to its strength even from normal wastage from within its catchment area. In other words by 126 *III Cyrenaica* may have been back in Arabia, an area as yet sparsely provided with suitable citizen recruits, and not yet secure enough to follow the practice of granting citizenship to otherwise suitable material.⁷⁰ Seven hundred men is too many for a single year's entire replacements; a reasonable guess would be that it reflects the accumulated shortfall of about two years. It has already been noted⁷¹ that we have two *tribuni laticlavi* of *III Cyrenaica* whose term of service predates 135, probably within the period 125–135. If I might risk "raising a hypothesis on another hypothesis" then I would suggest that the change which took *III Cyrenaica* back to Arabia followed the Parthian scare of 123 when Hadrian was in the East in person. The aftermath of the scare saw a general reorganization across the entire eastern military zone; the situation had been patched up c. 119 to meet the needs of the moment: now the emphasis had shifted. The security of Syria required a more immediate reinforcement than could be provided by Judaea and Egypt: the latter could again spare a legion and that force could be moved forward. The return of *III Cyrenaica* to Arabia between c. 123 and, perhaps, 126, requires the prior departure of *VI Ferrata* from that province. First, the logic of such a move. Given that a reinforcement is required on the eastern frontier the choice for placing such a force must lie between Cappadocia, Judaea, and Arabia. Precise strategic requirements being absent, it would surely have been more attractive to make either of the latter into two-legion consular provinces than to create a powerful three-legion province of Cappadocia. Judaea was the more insecure of the two praetorian provinces. Again, in their movement of legions, Roman officials always showed a concern to cause as little upheaval as possible, preferring to shuttle several legions along a line rather than move the available force directly to where it was required. At the time in question it might well have seemed preferable to return *III Cyrenaica* to its former station in Arabia — a province which was, after all, contiguous with Egypt — and move *VI Ferrata*, only recently settled in Arabia, across the Jordan to Judaea. An additional factor may be that it seemed impolitic to transfer any Egyptian legion into the Jewish homeland!

⁷⁰ As happened commonly in Cappadocia.

⁷¹ Keppie, 862; *IGRR*, III, 763 = *ILS* 8828; *ILS* 1071.

In his paper Keppie stated his preference for "the distinct possibility that Judaea became a consular province with two legions in or soon after 117."⁷² The new milestones noted above now remove any doubt but that Judaea did become consular early in Hadrian's reign. In the context of the Jewish revolts and the subsequent insecurity and rebuilding the desirability of placing an extra legion in Judaea is understandable. There may, however, have been a period soon after when the province of Judaea again became a one-legion province. How else can one explain the curious shuttle which took *III Cyrenaica* from Egypt to Arabia, *II Traiana* from Judaea to Egypt, and *VI Ferrata* from Arabia to Judaea? We must surely see the moves as at least two distinct occasions and one of them must be bound up with the disappearance of *XXII Deiotariana*. The latter legion appears nowhere else after its final Egyptian attestation in 119 and if, as I have suggested above, the garrison of Egypt in 123 was *III Cyrenaica* and *II Traiana*, it presupposes the departure of *XXII Deiotariana* by that date. Previous suggestions that the legion was destroyed in Judaea in the Second Jewish Revolt must surely be wrong; it is most unlikely that the legion could have remained in Egypt between 119 and 132 without leaving some piece of datable evidence.⁷³ The absence of a major upheaval in the period 119–123 really only leaves the possibility of disgrace and disbandment, possibly connected in some way with the riots at Alexandria in 121/122.⁷⁴ Reinforcements would be drawn in from Judaea — logically the new legion there — and at some date subsequent to *c.* 123 Egypt again lost a legion, this time *III Cyrenaica* to Arabia. The logic behind moving the Egyptian legion to Arabia and the Arabian to Judaea, I have discussed above.

A summary of my reconstructed movements for the two legions *III Cyrenaica* and *VI Ferrata* at this time is as follows:

III Cyrenaica. It transferred into Arabia in 106 and formed the regular garrison of the province during the next decade. A vexillation at least participated in Trajan's Parthian War operating on the Euphrates and carried out building work at Dura-Europos. By 116/117 the same or another vexillation was at Jerusalem on its way to deal with the uprisings in Egypt and Cyrenaica, and by 119 the entire legion had been returned by Egypt. The stay was short and soon after 123 it returned to Arabia, of which it thereafter remained the regular garrison.

⁷² Keppie, 864.

⁷³ Bowersock (1) 43; Keppie 863. Both prefer a date in the 120s for the loss of *XXII Deiotariana*.

⁷⁴ SHA, *Hadr.* XVI.1–4.

VI Ferrata. It was based at Samosata during the reign of Trajan, and it participated, together with the other Syrian legions, in Trajan's Parthian War (*ILS* 1071). By 119 it was in Arabia, filling the vacuum left by the recently transferred *III Cyrenaica*. A brief occupation, followed by its move to Iudaea whose permanent status as a consular province with two legions seems to date from, or soon after, A.D. 123.

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The Eastern Legions

Legion	106	106-114	114-116	116-119	119-123	123-132
<i>II Traiana</i>	-	-	P. War	Mes./ Judaea	Judaea/ Egypt	Egypt
<i>III Cyrenaica</i>	Egypt	Arabia	Arabia/ P. War	Egypt	Egypt	Arabia
<i>III Gallica</i>	Syria	Syria	P. War	Syria	Syria	Syria
<i>IV Scythica</i>	Syria	Syria	P. War	Syria	Syria	Syria
<i>VI Ferrata</i>	Syria	Syria	P. War	Arabia	Arabia	Judaea
<i>X Fretensis</i>	Judaea	Judaea	Judaea	Judaea	Judaea	Judaea
<i>XII Fulminata</i>	Capp.	Capp.	Capp./ P. War.	Capp.	Capp.	Capp.
<i>XV Apollinaris</i>	-	-	P. War	Danube	Capp.	Capp.
<i>XVI Flavia</i>	Capp.	Capp.	Capp./ P. War	Capp./ Syria	Syria	Syria
<i>XXII Deiotariana</i>	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	Egypt	-

The Provincial Garrisons, A.D. 106-132

Province	106	106-114	114-116	116-117	117-118	118-119	119-123	123-132
Arabia	-	III Cyr.	III Cyr.	?	VI Ferr.	VI Ferr.	VI Ferr.	III Cyr.
Egypt	III Cyr. XXII Deiot.	XXII Deiot.	XXII Deiot.	XXII Deiot.	XXII Deiot. III Cyr.	XXII Deiot. III Cyr.	XXII Deiot. II Tr.	(XXII Deiot?) II Traiana
Judaea	X Fr.	X Fr.	X Fr.	X Fr.	X Fr. II Traiana?	X Fr. II Traiana?	III Cyr. X Fr. II Traiana	VI Ferr.
Syria	III Gallica IV Scythica VI Ferr.	III G. IV S. VI Ferr.	III G. IV S. VI Ferr.	III G. IV S. VI Ferr.	III G. IV S. ?	III G. IV S. XVI Fl.	III G. IV S. XVI Fl.	III G. IV S. XVI Fl.
Cappadocia	XII Ful. XVI Fl.	XII Ful. XVI Fl.	XII Ful. XVI Fl.	XII Ful. XVI Fl.	XII Ful. ?	XII Ful. XV Ap.	XII Ful. XV Ap.	XII Ful. XV Ap.

BAR KOKHBA COINS AND DOCUMENTS

LEO MILDENBERG

IN April 1949 I published an article on the Eleazar coins of the Bar Kokhba rebellion, introducing the die-comparison methodology into Jewish numismatics.¹ At the same time, "decisive steps toward the greatest manuscript find of modern times"² were being made in the systematic search of Qumran cave 1, undertaken by Harding and de Vaux. Today, thirty years later, the Bar Kokhba coins and documents are being used together to clarify the history and significance of the Bar Kokhba war of A.D. 132–135 within Jewish life and within the Roman Empire at large. Numismatists are able to understand the Bar Kokhba coins better knowing the Bar Kokhba documents just as historians are able to make better use of the documents knowing the coins. But do we really know all the documents³ and coins found? The Dead Sea finds from the sites of Qumran, Murabba'at and the Naḥal Ḥever have not, in fact, joined — as they should have — the Bar Kokhba coins as one of the primary sources for the history of the Bar Kokhba war; for neither the Jordanian nor the Israeli scrolls, documents and letters have been published *in toto*.⁴

As for the coins, a large body of important material remains unavailable since I still have not published my *Corpus* of the Bar Kokhba coinage commenced in the late forties. There is, however, a good reason for this delay: between 1965 and 1978 several huge hoards of Bar Kokhba

This article is the revised text of a James C. Loeb Classical Lecture delivered, with slides, at Harvard University on April 5, 1979. I am indebted to J. T. Milik and Y. Yadin, the editors of the Bar Kokhba papyri, to G. Vermes, E. M. Smallwood, and S. Applebaum for their recent publications and to K. Patricia Erhart for revision of the English text.

¹ *Historia Judaica* 11.1 (April 1949) 71–108. pls. 1–2 (hereafter Mildenberg, *Eleazar*).

² G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London 1977) (hereafter Vermes, *DSS*).

³ J. T. Milik, "Textes hébreux et araméens" in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* II, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (Oxford 1961) (hereafter *DJD*); Y. Yadin, Expedition D in *Judaean Desert Caves*, Survey and Excavations 1960, *Israel Exploration Journal* (hereafter *IEJ*; Jerusalem 1961); idem, *Judaean Desert Caves* II, Survey and Excavations 1961, *IEJ* 12 (Jerusalem 1962).

⁴ Cf. G. Vermes's bitter statement in *DSS* 23–24.

coins, mainly in silver, have come to light, and new coins have therefore been reaching the compiler of the corpus constantly since 1965. The Bar Kokhba texts, on the other hand, have been available to the editors for decades. The recent coin hoards will certainly change the picture of Bar Kokhba coinage for they account for roughly two thirds of all Bar Kokhba coins known — the remaining one third (registered prior to the recent hoard discoveries) being the material known from the time of Eckhel's *Doctrina Nummorum* (1792–98) up to the summer of 1965. The evidence of thousands of new coins unearthed only in the last decades cannot, of course, be neglected. By the end of 1978, the catalogue part of the Corpus was finally ready when the message came that some hundred silver coins had been found between Bethlehem and Hebron. In early January 1979, I rushed to Bethlehem and saw there 669 *silver* Bar Kokhba coins, all obviously coming from the same hoard, allegedly found in a locality called El Fawar. Permission was granted to register the coins but not to photograph or weigh them. Moreover, fair warning was given at that time that the find must have been larger than the 669 pieces registered; in fact, a figure of around 1500 pieces seems likely.

In the case of the Bar Kokhba war, the unavailability of known evidence such as that provided by the coins and documents is particularly lamentable, for neither the Roman sources in Latin and Greek nor the Jewish and Christian traditions for the so-called *Second Jewish Revolt* (or *Rebellion* or *War*) are of great value. "Aber wie unsaeglich duerftig sind ueberhaupt diese Quellen," the historian Emil Schuerer fittingly exclaimed in 1901 in his brilliant history of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ.⁵ Since Schuerer the situation has improved, albeit not as much as could be hoped. Even so, the new English edition of Schuerer's history⁶ and other recent contributions⁷ together with the Bar Kokhba documents, letters, and coins undoubtedly offer future

⁵ *Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* I (Leipzig 1901) 686 (hereafter Schuerer 1901).

⁶ The new English version: *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, 175 B.C.–A.D. 135*, a new English version, rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar, liter. ed. P. Vermes and organiz. editor M. Black, Edinburgh 1973 (hereafter Schuerer 1973).

⁷ Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* (London 1971); G. Vermes, *DSS* passim; E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden 1976), esp. 428–486; (hereafter Smallwood, *JRR*); S. Applebaum, 'Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt, A.D. 132–135', *British Archaeological Reports*, supplementary series 7 (Oxford 1976; hereafter Applebaum, *Prolegomena*); B. Lifshitz, *Jérusalem sous la domination romaine, Aufstieg und Niedergang der Roemischen Welt* (hereafter *ANRW*) II, 8, pp. 444–489, (Berlin 1977).

historians the opportunity to draw a much more lively and detailed picture of the Bar Kokhba war than their predecessors have been able to do. This article will now, however, merely attempt to survey the new facts and point out the remaining problems.

THE LEGEND OF BAR KOKHBA

Fact and fiction intermingle in the legend of Bar Kokhba, the great Jewish war leader of the second century A.D. The Bar Kokhba story begins with a Jewish tradition recorded in the Jerusalem version of the Talmud, namely Ta'anit 4,8-68d on Balaam's prophecy in Numbers 24,17, an eschatological text which is also of key importance for the Qumran community of the Essenes.⁸ We must examine closely three passages to understand the conflation which has occurred within our sources for Bar Kokhba. First, the biblical prophecy: "A star shall come out of Jacob . . ." Next, from the Talmud, the interpretation which the great rabbi Akiba ben Joseph is reported to have given: "Kosiba came out of Jacob, for when Akiba saw Bar Kosiba, he exclaimed: This is the King Messiah!" And finally, from the Talmud again, rabbi Jochanan ben Torta's retort: "Akiba, grass will grow out of your cheeks and the Son of David will still not have come."

We can easily appreciate what happened. The Hebrew word for star is *kokhab*, the Aramaic *kokhba*. Rabbi Akiba draws a parallel between the leader of the rebellion, Bar Kosiba, and the long-awaited Messiah by equating the leader's name Kosiba with the word *kokhba* or star, a symbol of the Messiah: Bar Kosiba — Bar Kokhba. Thus, the war leader's real name vanished and was replaced by Bar Kokhba until the documents discovered in this century reestablished it. Meanwhile, two versions of the man's name circulated in Jewish tradition. The positive version, accepted also by Eusebius, Jerome, and Justin, identifies the war leader by the Messianic name βαρκοχέβας or "Son of the Star." (Eusebius, in fact, uses simply ἀστὴρ, "star"). The negative version is wholly pejorative; it identifies the leader as Bar Koziba changing the כ (samekh) to ז (zayin) to make "Son of the Lie."⁹

The messianic name *Bar Kokhba* is still employed today for the Jewish war leader and this name may prevail in times to come, even though we now know that the man himself never pretended to be the Messiah. The documents discovered 30 years ago give his full name in

⁸ Cf. Vermes, *DSS* 81.

⁹ Cf. Schuerer 1973, 543 and n.130, see also n.131.

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek: *Shim'on ben Kosiba*, *Shim'on Bar Kosiba*, *Nasi Israel* or *Nasi 'al Israel*, which translated means "Simon, son of Kosiba, Prince of (or over) Israel." The title "prince" here does not mean that Bar Kosiba was of princely blood. He simply appropriated this title to legitimize his position as ruler.

In retrospect, it is clear that one should have trusted more fully in the numismatic evidence; for the coins, which have been known and studied for centuries, provide not only the war leader's name Shim'on,¹⁰ but also his assumed title *Nasi Israel*. And one should not have accepted the literary tradition so faithfully. Akiba may have been the brain and even the heart of the revolt, but it does not seem likely that Akiba, in fact, proclaimed the military leader and prince Shim'on Bar Kosiba as the Messiah of the House of David.¹¹

By the time of the Bar Kokhba rebellion, the heyday of eschatological dreams had been over for nearly a century. The leading Pharisaic rabbis had managed to strengthen their leadership, whereas the priestly Sadducees and the Essene-Chassidic communities had vanished from history with the destruction of the Temple in the *Bellum Iudaicum*. After that Great War of 66–74 and particularly around the year 100, the rabbis at the academy of Jamnia succeeded in forging a new Jewish life centered around the Law without Temple or State. In the first decades of the second century rabbi Akiba ben Joseph appeared as the undisputed successor of the great Jamnia Pharisaic rabbis Hillel, Jochanan ben Zakkai, and Gamiel II. There was, as we shall see later, a strong reason for Akiba to join forces with the rebellion;¹² nevertheless, the "ordina-

¹⁰ Along with other scholars, I too hesitated to accept the coins at face value when I stated in 1949: "Bar Kochba himself may well have given the order for the coinage, but we cannot justifiably assume that he desired to put his own first name on the coins as there is not the slightest indication that his name was actually Simon" (Mildenberg, *Eleazar* 92). Schuerer, however, in 1901 was right: "Den eigentlichen Namen des Mannes haben uns die Muenzen erhalten" (684).

¹¹ For the *opinio communis* that Bar Kokhba was identified as the Messiah cf. in particular Schuerer 1901, p. 685; Schuerer 1973, p. 544; Smallwood *JRR*, p. 440; Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, p. 27; J. T. Milik, *DJD*, p. 126 ad L.3. For the opposite view see infra and G. Allon, *History* (Merchavia 1955, in Hebrew) 36. — Cf. P. Schaefer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des Judentums und Urchristentums* (Leiden 1978) 90: "Deswegen beinhaltet sie allerdings keineswegs eine feierliche Proklamation Bar Kokhbas zum Messias."

¹² Cf. below, section 8 "The Reason for the War" and cf. Vermes *DSS* 163: "The interest of the Church in the messianic role of Jesus is apt to assign a greater importance to Messianism in Jewish religion than the historical evidence justifies."

tion" of Shim'on ben Kosiba by rabbi Akiba is a tradition which originated in a misunderstanding of a much later time and, therefore, cannot be considered as historical evidence. Not only does it remain unconfirmed by the Bar Kokhba coins, but it is, in fact, flatly contradicted by the Bar Kokhba letters and documents.

First, the coins. In the past, much emphasis was put on the alleged star¹³ seen above the temple on the coins (fig. 1, 3-9). But for nearly a century numismatists have stressed the fact that the star is actually just a rosette. Other pieces have a wavy line or a cross in the same place, which proves that there is no symbolic value in any of the three designs seen above the temple.¹⁴ Thus, there is absolutely nothing on the second century coins of the Bar Kokhba war to prove the "Son of the Star" tradition of later times.

The evidence of the Bar Kokhba documents is still more striking; it completely excludes an identification of Bar Kokhba as the Messiah. As we have seen, the Jewish military leader did not proclaim himself the King Messiah or the Priest Messiah or the Prophet Messiah,¹⁵ but only Prince of Israel. And truly he was a ruler, in both name and deed. Not only did he usurp the emperor's prerogative of striking silver coins, but he also appropriated Roman crown land and leased it for hard cash — his own silver coins — to the Jewish peasants. This fact, which is of the highest importance, is established by the papyri. The most striking document is Murabba'at 24,¹⁶ a part of the notarial archives of Beth Guvrin under Bar Kosiba. Yehudah ben Rabba, one of four leaseholders designated by their full names, specifies the location of his allotment and the authority who leases it: "the piece of land which is (now) mine by leasing and which is situated in the town of Naḥash, and which I have leased from Shim'on Prince of Israel." Other documents show us the legendary Bar Kokhba as a pious Jew, a good administrator, and a stern, severe commander. The legend is gone; the man is here to stay.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REBELLION

Hadrian visited the east in 130 and 131. For once, all the written

¹³ Cf. L. Hamburger's caustic commentary upon the star thesis in "Die Silber-Muenzpraegung waehrend des letzten Aufstandes der Israeliten gegen Rom," *Zeitschrift fuer Numismatik* 18 (Berlin 1892) 305.

¹⁴ L. Mildenberg, *Eleazar*, n. 17; idem, "Eine Ueberpraegung des 2. Aufstandes der Juden gegen Rom," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* (hereafter *SNR*) 33 (Bern 1947) 18; G. Allon (above, n. 11) 36; Y. Meshorer in Lifshitz *ANRW* II, 8, p. 481 ("note additionelle").

¹⁵ Cf. Vermes, *DSS* 182 ff.

¹⁶ *DJD* II, 122-134 and pls. 35-37.



FIG. I

sources seemed to agree:¹⁷ they all pointed to the year 132 for the outbreak of the war. But still there was no proof. And this time, the Roman Imperial coins, always handy sources of information for historians and archaeologists, did not offer conclusive evidence. There are two reasons for this extraordinary failure. Hadrian dated his coins only at the beginning of his reign, in fact, only during his first three years. On his coins he was successively titled *cos*, *cos II*, and *cos III*, and then he decided — unfortunately for us — to remain *cos III* until his death in 138. Hadrian was accorded tribunician power 22 times, but he neglected to count the *tribunicia potestas* on his coins beyond the first period, something which none of his predecessors or successors neglected to do. As for his additional titles, Hadrian began by designating himself *Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus* in the grand manner of Trajan, but he soon reduced all this to a simple but monumental *Hadrianus Augustus*, to which he later added the conventional *PP* for *Pater Patriae*. This was sufficient for Hadrian and for the Roman citizen of his time.

The second reason for the lack of evidence lies in Hadrian's coinage policy. Hadrian, more than any other emperor, was aware of the tremendous impact that coins had on public opinion. His coinage systematically proclaimed the principles and achievements of his reign and recorded all major events, even down to his arrivals in the different provinces.¹⁸ We might well ask: where are the reflections of the one great war Hadrian fought using all his military might for more than three years? P. L. Strack has devoted 8 pages to this *Bellum Iudaicum* trying to reconstruct the effects of the Bar Kokhba war on Roman Imperial coinage.¹⁹ There is, however, no evidence. Admittedly, a new *Iudaea Capta* or *Iudaea Devicta* series was impossible because there was no independent Jewish state after 74. A victory coin type such as *De Iudaeis* after the Roman suppression of the Jewish rebellion would, however, have been appropriate, but the emperor's veto must have prevented this. For Hadrian, this τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος as Dio called it, was a mere revolt, a personal affront to be avenged quickly and erased from memory. Apparently the emperor considered neither the revolt itself nor even an illusion to the subduing of the rebels worthy of mention on his proclamatory coinage.

¹⁷ Cf. Schuerer 1973, n.92 and n.126.

¹⁸ Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, III (= *BMC*, Roman) 339 f and 487–496.

¹⁹ *Untersuchungen zur Roemischen Reichspraegung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, pt. II (Stuttgart 1933) 132–139.

Does the autonomous bronze coinage in the East in contrast offer any direct chronological indications for the Bar Kokhba rebellion? The answer is unfortunately no. We are, therefore, forced to return to the Bar Kokhba coins. Upon careful investigation, it is apparent that these coins are all overstruck on foreign pieces and very often reveal clear traces of the underlying types and legends. I found an undated Jewish medium bronze²⁰ in Reverend E. Rogers's *Handy Guide to Jewish Coins* published in 1914; the specimen was overstruck on a coin from Gaza which happened to be dated twice, a fact not previously noted. On this interesting piece the two dates 131 and 132 are easily recognized. It is obvious that the Bar Kokhba type must be later than the underlying coin. An irrefutable *terminus post quem* for this Bar Kokhba coin exists.

In 1963 A. Kindler published another Bar Kokhba-Gaza overstrike, also undated.²¹ His coin was issued in Gaza in 132/133, a year later than the one of Rogers. It therefore seems unlikely that the hostilities could have begun in the spring of 132; the early autumn of 132 seems more probable. Otherwise, Kindler's bronze could hardly have reached the rebels, as an unrestricted flow of coins from the coast to the Judean mountains was hardly possible after the outbreak of the war. The Bar Kokhba documents also point to a date in autumn 132. Murabba'at 24, the same lease which revealed Shim'on ben Kosiba as landlord and Prince of Israel, also provides some important evidence for the chronology of the Bar Kokhba rebellion. This contract counts the "year of the Redemption" not only according to the years of the rebels' era but also according to the years of the Sabbatical Cycle. This double dating enables us to establish the year in which the war began because we know how to calculate the sabbatical years. Josephus tells us that the year 68/69 was a sabbatical year. According to the calculations of the editor Milik, the year 130/131 was just such a sabbatical year. Milik concluded that the war broke out on the first day of Tishri, a day at the beginning of September in 131.²² He quoted the writer's article on the overstruck Gaza coin²³ and stated that "cette date s'accorde

²⁰ L. Mildenberg, "Numismatische Evidenz zur Chronologie der Bar Kochba-Erhebung," *SNR* 34 (Bern 1948/49) 19-27, pl. 3.

²¹ A. Kindler, "Ein Münzpalimpsest aus dem Bar-Kochba-Krieg," *SNR* 42 (Bern 1962/63) 14-20, pl. 2; M. Avi-Yonah, *RE* suppl. 13 (München 1974), 401, 60-65, accepts "autumn 132" but stresses that the later Jewish tradition counts the outbreak back to the first Nissan (the New Year during the reign of the Kings) in spring 132; the same counting goes for the *Bellum Iudaicum* (outbreak summer 66, traditional dating first Nissan 66).

²² *DyD* II, 125 ad L.1.

²³ Cf. Mildenberg above, n.20.

parfaitement avec les données numismatiques.” In fact, Milik’s arithmetic was at fault,²⁴ as was immediately noticed. Making good use of Milik’s own tabulation, one can easily discover that the document Murabba’at 24 places the outbreak of hostilities not in September 131 but in September 132.

A further indication of the date of the war’s outbreak appears in the amazing polylingual documents of the Jewish matron Babata. The latest document found in Babata’s bundle is dated the nineteenth of August in the year 132. We know that shortly after this Babata fled from Nabataea to the secure Dead Sea settlement of Engedi, a Jewish stronghold. If the war had already started in the spring of 132, Babata would not have had a chance to reach the Engedi area²⁵ in August or September of 132 because the route would have been cut off by the Roman army. Therefore, the war must have broken out in late summer or early autumn of 132.

The Jewish and Roman sources report that the war lasted more than three years.²⁶ In the coinage, the relatively small issue of the “year one” was followed by a larger output in the “year 2” and by a very large one which was undated. These are the *three* periods of the Bar Kokhba coinage. The Jews did not date their coins in the third or fourth year of the war, but they continued to date their letters and deeds. The latest date so far known appears in Murabba’at 30²⁷ in the first line of a bill of sale for a piece of land. The date is the twenty-first of Tischri of the “year four of the Redemption of Israel”; this is the end of September 135. According to Jewish tradition the Bethar stronghold fell on the fatal day of 9 Ab in that year, which means August 135. We know from Roman inscriptions that Hadrian won his acclamation as *imp II* after 134 and probably toward the end of 135.²⁸ There can be no other reason for the acceptance of this title by the old emperor than his victory over the Jews.

As for the internal chronology and specifically for the course of the war, the coins and documents published so far do not enlighten us.

²⁴ Manfred R. Lehmann, “Studies in the Murabba’at and Naḥal Ḥever Documents,” *Revue de Qumrân* (1963/64) 4, p. 56.

²⁵ Cf. Yadin, *Survey* (1961) 248.

²⁶ Cf. above, n.17; Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* 23; Smallwood *JRR* 455 f; cf. Applebaum, *Prolegomena* 52 ff.

²⁷ *DJD* II, 124–148.

²⁸ Schuerer 1973, 553, n.174; A. B. Bosworth, “Arrian and the Alani,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (Cambridge Mass. 1977) 218, n.5: “Hostilities may have dragged out until the end of the year.” I (above, n.20) 26, n.19, had expressed a similar view.

We still do not know whether Bar Kosiba conquered the whole territory by surprise at the outbreak of hostilities or only slowly during the first and second years of the war. The same holds true for the war of reconquest planned by Hadrian's general Iulius Severus after he had arrived from Britain in Judaea. We do not know when it began or how it proceeded.

THE BAR KOKHBA TERRITORY

In his critical analysis of the Talmudic sources, Buechler was able to demonstrate as early as 1904 that the rebels' territory was Judaea and not all of Palestine.²⁹ All the localities mentioned in the Bar Kokhba documents and known to us can be placed within a circle which does not reach the Mediterranean on the West,³⁰ Jerusalem and Jericho on the North, nor Masada on the South (map 1). The same holds true for the major Bar Kokhba coin hoards. They occur in Herodion, Latrun, Hebron, Idna, Dahariyeh and El Fawar, but *not* in Jerusalem, Jericho, or Masada (map 2). A synopsis of all the sites evidenced by the Bar Kokhba coins and the documents uncovered in this century (map 3) reveals the limits of the Bar Kokhba territory.

As to Jerusalem itself and its situation during the war the following facts were stressed in a recent article by me.³¹ Local scholars, dealers, and collectors uniformly agree that Bar Kokhba coin hoards have never been found in the city. N. Avigad dug for years in a large area of the Jewish Quarter near the Temple mount. He found coins from as early as the Persian period around 400 B.C. up to the British occupation of this century. For example, shekels and half shekels in silver and many bronzes of the *Bellum Iudaicum* (66-74) were found. There was, in fact, only one conspicuous gap in the coin history of Jerusalem: *not one single Bar Kokhba coin was found*.³² And this fact is of highest importance. One may say that such an argument *ex silentio* is of little significance. But if the rebels were holding Jerusalem for at least two years, which is the *opinio communis*³³ (and even the view expressed in the new

²⁹ A. Buechler, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 16 (1904) 143 ff.

³⁰ It is unlikely that the rebels ever reached the coast southwest of the Judean hills as the autonomous Gaza mint struck bronze coins for Hadrian without interruption in the years 131/132 and 132/133 (cf. above, n.20 and n.21), 133/134 and 134/135 (*BMC* [Catalogue of the Greek Coins] Palestine, 50-52 and 53-55).

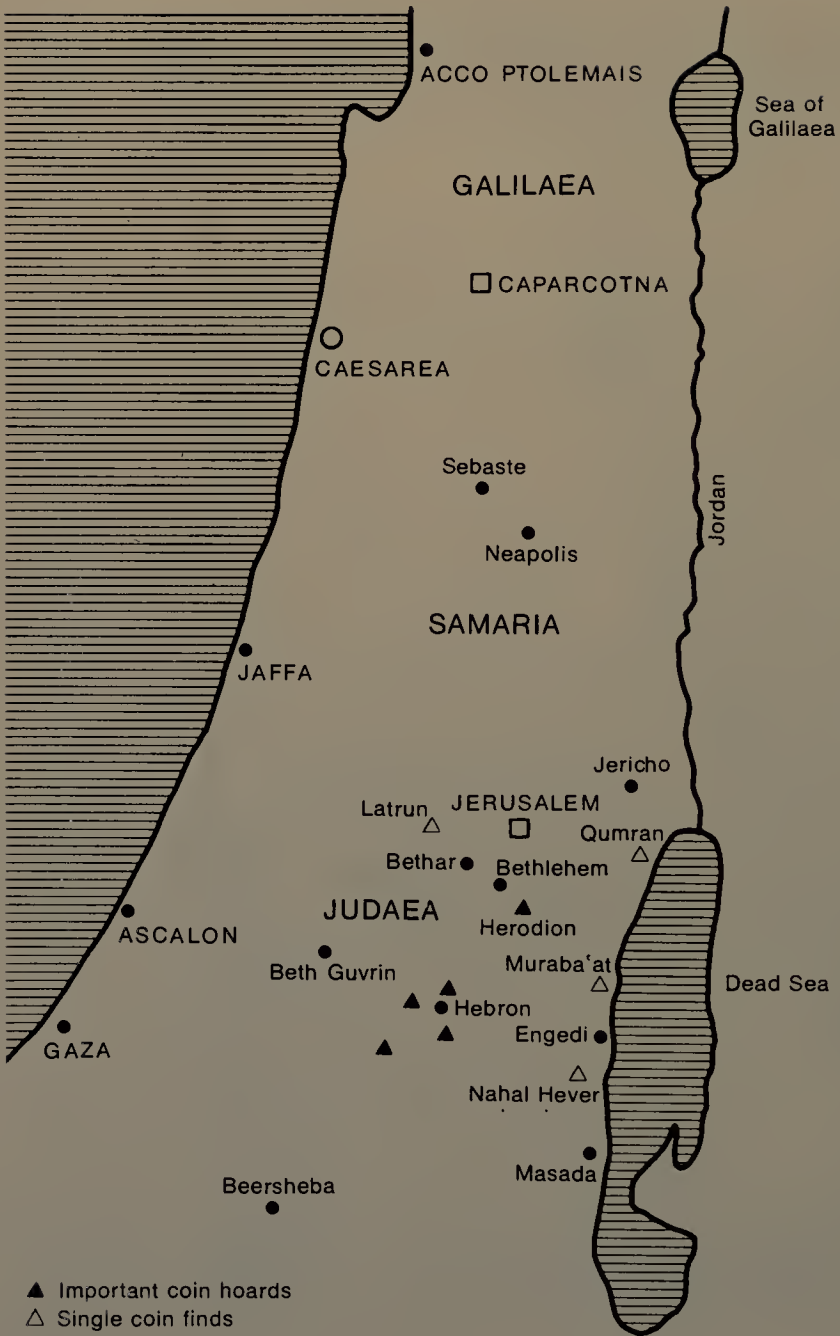
³¹ L. Mildenberg, "Bar Kochba in Jerusalem?" *Schweizer Muenzblätter* 105 (February 1977) 1-6.

³² N. Avigad, "Archaeological Discoveries in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem," *Israel Museum* (Jerusalem 1976) 24 f: "Coins."

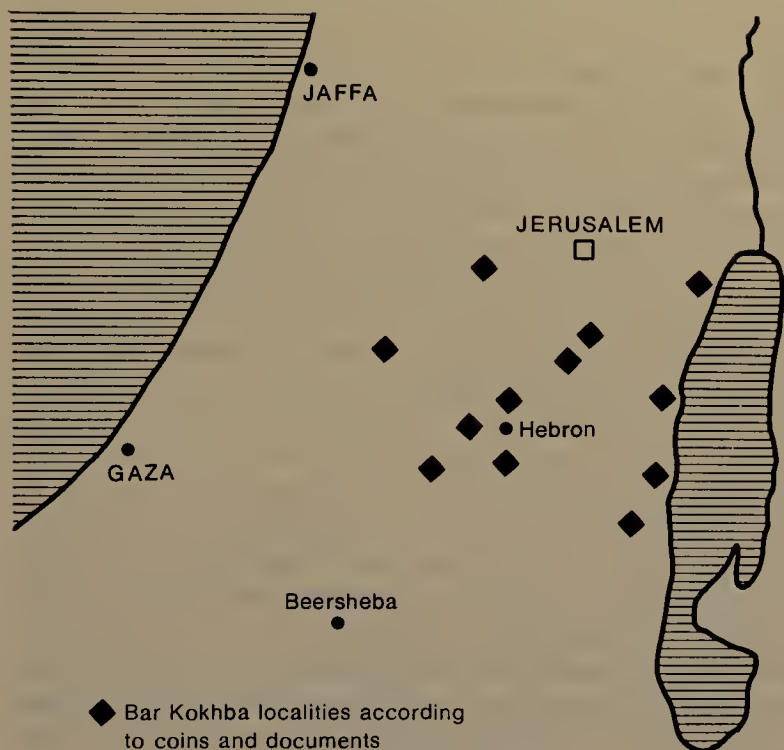
³³ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, p. 18; Lifshitz *ANRW* II, 8, p. 482; Smallwood *JRR*



MAP 1. Palestine.



MAP 2. Palestine.



MAP 3. Judaea.

English edition of Schuerer's history) the greater part of Bar Kokhba coins would obviously have been discovered in Jerusalem. Moreover, we do not know of any Bar Kokhba material found north of Jerusalem, in either Samaria or Galilaea. Nor did Yadin find any Bar Kokhba coins during his excavation of Masada. And *why* is this the case? Because of simple topographical and strategical reasons. Bar Kosiba wanted to avoid having any of his garrisons fall into the "Masada trap,"³⁴ as had happened with disastrous results in the years 70 to 74.

443; A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines* (London 1974) 423. In fact, "There is no explicit literary reference to the Jewish recovery of Jerusalem," as even Smallwood admits (*JRR* 444). The generalizing statements in Megillat Ta'anit for 17th Elul and in the Byzantine excerpts of Appian's Roman History Syr. 50, 252 do not say that the rebels reconquered the city. Even if they indicated such a reconquest it would not be conclusive as it could result from conflation with other dates and events in later epitomes. Appian wrote in the time of the Antonines and may well have had in mind Hadrian's measures after the war.

³⁴ Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 15, no. 1/2 (Jerusalem 1965), "The Excavation of Masada 1963/1964" 119. Cf. Smallwood *JRR* 443, n.62: a comparison of Masada and Herodion which does not seem convincing to me as the topographical situation of the two fortresses is not the same.

As for Jerusalem, we know for certain that the Roman *Legio Decima Fretensis* had been commanded to hold the city. Bar Kosiba would never have been so foolish as to attack a full Roman legion in a fortified camp such as that of Jerusalem, so easily defensible, situated on the heights.³⁵ Although it would have been an extremely risky proposition for Bar Kosiba to attack Jerusalem from any direction, it would have been especially dangerous for him to attack the city from the north or northwest, because the Roman garrison in the provincial capital of Caesarea Maritima and the *Legio Sexta Ferrata* at Caparcotna were stationed in his rear. There is irrefutable evidence that Judaea was a consular province with two legions stationed there well before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba War.³⁶ As we have seen before, the evidence provided by the coin hoards and the facts given in the documents exclude the possibility that Jerusalem was at any time in the hands of the rebels. There are, however, Bar Kokhba *coin inscriptions* which seem to prove the contrary. The name Jerusalem is found in all three periods of the Bar Kokhba coinage and the inscription "For the Freedom of Jerusalem" appears on undated coins of the third period. This has led many numismatists and historians to conclude that Jerusalem was in the hands of the rebels during the Bar Kokhba War. The various interpretations suggested may be summarized as follows: first, Jerusalem was reconquered by the rebels at the beginning of the war and remained in their hands for three full years; second, Jerusalem remained in Jewish hands for the first two years only and was then lost again; third, Jerusalem was not only in the hands of the rebels, but the city itself was one of three minting authorities for the rebellion coinage — the two others being the Priest Eleazar, whose name appears on some coins, and Shim'on Bar Kosiba, the legendary Bar Kokhba.

Even if the appearance of the word "Jerusalem" on the Bar Kokhba coinage might suggest that the rebels held the city, such an interpretation could never stand against the weightier evidence of the Bar Kokhba coin hoards and documents. Yet this interpretation remains current, even though it neglects some fundamental facts of the Bar

³⁵ Schuerer 1973, 550: "The fortifications were inadequate." I hold that for psychological, topographical, and strategical reasons the Roman administration did not neglect Jerusalem. Cf. G. W. Bowersock in his review of Schuerer 1973 in *Journal of Roman Studies* (London 1975) 145: "The revolt of 115-117 had taught the Romans that a stronger garrison was needed in Judaea."

³⁶ B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Bonn 1979) 145-155 on a new milestone southeast of Acre showing the *Legio II Traiana* in Judaea in A.D. 120 (information G. W. Bowersock).

Kokhba coinage stressed by me from 1949 on.³⁷ There was only one minting authority, the centralized rebel administration. This body employed the name of the Priest Eleazar at the beginning of the revolt to demonstrate the rebels' faithfulness to the Jewish past, just as it employed the name of Shim'on Prince of Israel throughout the revolt to strengthen Bar Kosiba's position as its leader. This same rebel body used the name Jerusalem not as a mint indication, but as a *war slogan*, a verbal rallying point for the rebel forces. Let me stress here that the Bar Kokhba coinage served the aims of the rebels perfectly. They placed their own Jewish coin types over Roman issues, thereby utilizing money which had previously served the purpose of the Roman Empire. The types of the Bar Kokhba tetradrachms are eloquent: the Temple façade with the slogan "Jerusalem" is meant to replace the portrait and name of the Emperor (fig. 1, 1-2). On the reverse the palm branch and citrus fruit used during the Feast of the Tabernacles together with date and era are meant to replace the Roman pagan deity and accompanying Latin or Greek inscription.

To conclude our examination of the Jerusalem problem: the thesis that the city was conquered by Bar Kosiba and served as a rebel mint has to be completely abandoned until a substantial hoard of Bar Kokhba coins is found in the city of Jerusalem.

THE REBEL STATE

It was the rebels' aim to create an independent state. Their coinage was a solemn and public declaration of independence. Striking silver coins, the rebels took over one of the Roman emperor's most important prerogatives. With one blow of the hammer they assumed sovereignty and — from the Roman point of view — committed high treason. By overstriking the Roman coins, the rebels kept the Roman monetary standard. Four Bar Kokhba denarii equal one Bar Kokhba tetradrachm, just as four denarii of the imperial mint equal one tetradrachm of the Syrian provincial coinage. This is proven in the Bar Kokhba documents where the rebels' denarius is rendered in Hebrew as *sus*, the tetradrachm as *sela*. A legal document dated "24 Tischri of the fourth year of the Redemption of Israel" quotes a price in the following manner: 88 *sus* (the equivalent of) 22 *sela*.³⁸

In the First Revolt of 66-74, the Jewish rebels had controlled a large territory which included the capital Jerusalem, and they had

³⁷ Mildenberg, *Eleazar* 90 f.

³⁸ *DJD* II, 145, L.21. Cf. Yadin, *Survey* 1961, 252 and n.43.

enough silver at their disposal. In the Bar Kokhba revolt, the rebels under Shim'on Bar Kosiba held only a restricted area of Judaea which did not include Jerusalem. They had no silver metal in bars or vessels, but they did have Roman silver coins. Thus it was only by overstriking foreign money that the rebels could create an independent coinage. Perhaps they initially got the idea from carelessly overstruck coins which found their way to Judaea — either from overstruck Hadrianic cistophori issued in Asia Minor shortly before the outbreak of the war or from overstruck Parthian coins of the same period. We have, however, to stress one fact: the exclusive overstriking seen on the Bar Kokhba coinage is not due to a lack of either imagination or skill on the part of the rebels — quite the contrary, as is attested by the craftsmanship of most of the diecutters and of the entire mint personnel.

Where did Bar Kosiba obtain the large amount of Roman imperial and provincial money? Booty is, of course, a likely source. He probably got Roman tetradrachms and drachms from the Syrian provincial mints and imperial denarii, dupondii, and asses, perhaps also some sestertii, from defeated garrisons and small army details. Yet, we must not imagine that Bar Kosiba seized enormous sums of money or even the entire treasury of the 22nd legion, the *Deiotariana*, if he did, after all, succeed in defeating the legion in the southwestern foothills of Judaea on its way from Egypt to the Bar Kokhba territory.³⁹ A legion on mission would have carried only a restricted amount of money. Moreover, we have no proof that the Jewish rebels ever destroyed the *Deiotariana*.

Furthermore, one wonders whether a Roman soldier serving in a garrison or some other army unit would have carried the small local and autonomous bronze money of Gaza and Ascalon, which eventually made its way into Bar Kosiba's hands and was overstruck. This is not very probable. Bar Kosiba must have got the bulk of his silver and bronze coins from the Jewish population of Judaea, perhaps some of it as a war levy and some of it as rent from peasants to whom he leased Roman crown land.

We do not know of any Bar Kokhba gold coins, although Roman aurei are found throughout the Near East as well as in Israel. Yet, one should not exclude *a priori* the possibility that Bar Kokhba gold coins existed. The rebels would not have hesitated to start a gold issue, but it seems that they needed Roman and not Jewish gold coins. Where did

³⁹ Schuerer 1973, 548, n.150(6), a precise exposition of the problem.

the rebels get Roman gold from? Roman officials or army officers and private individuals, Jewish or not, who traveled through Judaea or lived in the country certainly carried some aurei. So the rebels must have had some of these gold coins at their disposal. If they did not overstrike them and use them for internal circulation — silver and bronze were, of course, sufficient for this purpose — *then* the Roman gold must have satisfied larger needs of the insurgents, such as the purchase of weapons or the financing of benevolent neutrality on the Eastern border.

As we have seen, Bar Kosiba had enough time to consolidate the rebel state. He exercised full executive power. He was the possessor of considerable territory and adequate financial means. But did he have enough food, tools, and manpower for the upkeep of the economy and the continuation of the struggle? The size of the Bar Kokhba coinage must have been enormous. I know of up to 100 specimens struck from a single pair of dies and have, for instance, registered more than 200 different die combinations in the denarii issue. The group of medium bronzes is so big that an attempt to reconstruct the system of their interlinking dies within the framework of the corpus now underway has, with great reluctance, been abandoned. All this is extraordinary. If Bar Kosiba managed to overcome the technical difficulties involved in issuing such huge quantities of coins of good quality and great variety, then two conclusions are obvious: first, the coinage was a matter of high priority, of great importance for the rebel state; and second, the Jewish population of Judaea in need of this money was numerous. That can only mean that a great part of the Jewish rural population of Judaea had not only survived the disaster of the *Bellum Iudaicum* but still flourished there. The new documents and papyri confirm these conclusions beyond any doubt. Be^cayan, the father of Bar Kosiba's district administrator Jonathan, owned land in the fertile, artificially irrigated territory of Engedi. The Jewish matron Babata and her numerous clan also owned land there. Jewish peasants worked in the Beth Guvrin district on good land. Not only did large Jewish settlements survive but also the legal institutions pertaining to everyday life, the marriage contracts, the bills of divorce, the bonds and the leases. The rebels succeeded in creating an independent Jewish state in the years 132–135, because the conditions were favorable: the rural population of Judaea had survived the *Bellum Iudaicum* and prospered there. The Bar Kokhba coins, letters, and documents all reveal this surprising fact.

BAR KOSIBA'S MINT

One of the most difficult tasks for young states in our days is to produce their own coinage. They usually prefer to make good use of the services of older established foreign mints. So, how did the rebel administration solve this problem during the Bar Kokhba war? Who gave the order to prepare the Jewish dies and to overstrike the Roman coins? Who struck the coins and where and when did this take place? I have always been convinced that a study of the interlinking dies would answer many of these questions. When I revealed my initial results in 1951 in Jerusalem, the late E. L. Sukenik commented: "I will not believe one single word of your technical numismatics unless you can produce a dating of the third year." Sukenik's opinion was that the coinage began with the undated series. But it was Sukenik's son, Yigael Yadin, an archaeologist like his father, working in the caves of the Naḥal Hever, who found the document which begins: "On the 28th of Marheshvan in the third year of Shim'on ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel."⁴⁰ Documents of the fourth year are also known now. Why then did the rebels continue to date their deeds and other documents but stop dating their coins after the second year? This apparent discrepancy, admittedly strange at first glance, is the result neither of negligence nor of accident. A date on an official and legal document confirms an obvious fact; the undated Bar Kokhba coin inscriptions, however, have moved beyond the mere confirmation of fact to make an intentional, political declaration, which does not require a date. "For the Freedom of Jerusalem" means: "Let us fight to free Jerusalem."

We already have seen that Bar Kokhba money is extraordinary in design, fabric, volume, and meaning.⁴¹ The same goes for the structure of the coinage. The order given by the rebel administration to the mint personnel was clear: to create a sovereign, proclamatory, and abundant coinage. The flans (namely, Roman coins) were at hand, but the dies had to be engraved by diecutters who knew their craft and the Palaeo-Hebrew script. There was no time, no leisure for detailed instructions. The minters were forced to use the dies until they broke. To conserve dies they once even employed the same die for silver and bronze, which is quite unusual.⁴² They also used obsolete dies from earlier minting periods, if no others were at hand. Often they combined one obverse

⁴⁰ Yadin, *Survey* 1961, 250.

⁴¹ Mildenberg, *Eleazar* 91: "The Jewish coinage itself in this war of independence was based, in form and spirit, on laws of its own."

⁴² Mildenberg, *Eleazar*, die G 1 on pl. 1.

die with numerous reverse dies (up to twenty-nine!).⁴³ The multitude of interlinking dies is astounding. All these features enable us to clarify — by die study and comparison — the structure of the whole coinage, especially the chronological order of its three periods: “year One of the Redemption of Israel”, “year 2 of the Freedom of Israel”, and the undated series with the inscription “For the Freedom of Jerusalem” (fig. 1). More important still is the fact that such a sequence can only come from *one mint*,⁴⁴ probably the rebels’ headquarters, whatever its location. Finally, the predominance of the name Shim’on on all the issues very soon after the outbreak of the war was surely to indicate that it was Bar Kosiba himself — our legendary Bar Kokhba — who stood behind the coinage.

THE CULTURAL RENAISSANCE UNDER BAR KOSIBA

Was Bar Kosiba nothing but a small-time tyrant and a stern commander? Certainly not. He emerges in the Dead Sea papyri as a devout Jew strictly observing Jewish law. Though he lived in a very troubled time, he still managed to think of the palm branches and fruits needed for the Feast of the Tabernacles and to ask his representative to make sure that the offerings arrived at his headquarters undamaged, as it was prescribed in the Law, that the stem of the citrus fruit should be whole.⁴⁵ He became indignant upon discovering that one of his deputies had ill-treated the Galilaeans,⁴⁶ whoever these Galilaeans were. And he called the soldiers under his command brothers.⁴⁷

We already know from the eloquent types and proclamatory legends

⁴³ This long-lived obverse die showing the legend Shim’on within a wreath connects the second coinage period (year 2) with the third (undated, “For the Freedom of Jerusalem”). For illustrations cf. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, Tel-Aviv 1967, 184A, 185 (year 2) and 203 (undated) and *BMC* (Catalogue of the Greek Coins) Palestine, 15,16 (year 2) and 28–34, 55,57 (undated).

⁴⁴ In the El Fawar hoard of December 1978 there were several irregular “barbarous” denarii. Their dies do not seem to fit into the interlinking system that is characteristic of the whole silver coinage. Unless some die links are found we will have to accept a second, auxiliary mint, active probably toward the end of the war. Even at this late stage the inexperienced engravers and minters in this secondary atelier could have made crude copies of the denarii from the second year without paying attention to the fact that they struck the pieces in the third or fourth year.

⁴⁵ Yadin, *Survey* 1960, 48.

⁴⁶ *DJD* II, 159 ff.

⁴⁷ Yadin, *Survey* 1961, 44 and 59 ff.

of his coins that Bar Kosiba fought for an independent Jewish State. And now, we have another decisive piece of numismatic evidence: Bar Kosiba chose an archaic script, a Palaeo-Hebrew letterform, for the Jewish slogans on his coins. This can only mean that Bar Kosiba had a second, even higher goal than simply an independent Jewish State, namely, a cultural renaissance. The scripts on the papyri show how Bar Kosiba's scribes and the people wrote. These letter forms are the square Aramaic characters, first used in the Babylonian exile and developed steadily thereafter. We already know these specific letterforms from stone inscriptions, ossuaries, and other inscribed material, which range in date from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. These letterforms are astonishingly similar to modern printed Hebrew and anyone who can read a Hebrew prayerbook should be able to understand them. Yet, this same person would probably be unable to read what is written on the Bar Kokhba coins. There, the letters are not square but cursive. They are, in fact, the characters of the old Palaeo-Hebrew script, with their archaic *ductus* from the time of the Jewish kings and, therefore, nearly one thousand years old. Palaeo-Hebrew script such as this had already been used on the bronze coins of the Maccabeans around 100 B.C. and on the silver shekels and bronze denominations of the *Bellum Iudaicum* of 66-74; it was also used — and this is significant — for the name of God within some texts of the Dead Sea papyri.

We must not forget that until the year 66 the Jewish people enjoyed virtually unrestricted political independence and total cultural and religious freedom. Under Bar Kosiba the situation was very different. A full 62 years had passed since the destruction of the Temple. In taking up the old traditional script — after a long and deep hiatus — Bar Kosiba recalled the glorious days of the great kings before the Babylonian exile. Thirty years ago, I stressed the following point: "The coin-script, which in itself is an intentional revival of the old Hebraic cursive-script . . . , was merely a readoption of an obsolete script for the single and important purpose of serving as the official script of the coinage."⁴⁸ In 1949 there was no basis for this rather bold statement other than a careful interpretation of the coins. No wonder numismatists and epigraphers did not share this view but maintained the opinion that the use of the old script never ceased.⁴⁹ The old script may, of course,

⁴⁸ Mildenberg, *Eleazar* 79.

⁴⁹ L. Kadman, "The Hebrew Coin Script," in *Recent Studies and Discoveries on Ancient Jewish and Syrian Coins* (Jerusalem 1954) 166 ff; D. Diringer, "Early Hebrew Writing," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 13 (1950) 86. F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near*

have continued for sacred writings⁵⁰ while the everyday script changed. But it seems that the use of this script virtually ceased in the course of the second century for sacred writings as well as for everyday documents. Not only the Dead Sea papyri but also the new private documents and the official letters of Bar Kosiba's reign were written in the new square script, while the coin inscriptions — and only these — were written in the old cursive characters. Under the revolutionary administration the intentional revival of the old script is joined by a preference for Hebrew over Aramaic. As Yadin emphasized, the earlier Bar Kokhba documents were written in Aramaic, the later ones in Hebrew. "Possibly the change was made by a special decree of Bar Kosiba who wanted to restore Hebrew as the official language of the State."⁵¹ It was indeed the old script, the old language, that Bar Kosiba wanted.

BAR KOSIBA'S FAILURE

For a moment, we have to leave coins and documents in order to touch upon Bar Kosiba's failure. The Jewish state ranged against Hadrian stood no chance. The great emperor, who wanted peace yet did not fear war, had finally achieved a lasting equilibrium on the eastern frontier. The Parthians did not saddle their horses when Bar Kosiba and his rebels rose against Rome, though the moment was favorable. Only as an advance post within a strong eastern power block would Bar Kosiba's rebel state have had a chance of survival. This eastern power block, however, would have had to include Nabataea, which it did not; Nabataea remained a calm and loyal Roman province in the rear of the rebels. Moreover, the Jewish diaspora did not rise up in support of Bar Kosiba as might have been hoped for — not in Egypt, not in the Cyrenaica, nor on Cyprus. Its backbone had obviously been crushed during the Jewish revolt of 115. Thus, Bar Kosiba stood in Judaea, a lone warrior for a lost cause.

East, Essays in honour of W. F. Albright (New York 1961) 189, n.5, introduced the term "Early Jewish" for the new script and stated in n.4 that "in the second century B.C. Palaeo-Hebrew forms, dormant for some four centuries, begin afresh to evolve at a fairly steady pace." I hold that this development did not last up to 132-135 because there is no trace of the Palaeo-Hebrew forms in the legal documents and letters of the Bar Kokhba war. They are all written in the new script.

⁵⁰ N. Avigad, "Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exile Judean Archive," *Qedem* 4 (Jerusalem 1976) 36, n.135.

⁵¹ Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* 181.

THE REASON FOR THE WAR

I am convinced that there is only one major reason for the war despite the fact that a multitude of different causes and combinations of causes have been named in recent studies. As already stated, the Messianic hope cannot be the main reason, nor can it be social unrest that caused the war. In the Jewish tradition we find the *matziqim* (tantalizers) or *anasim* (violators) associated with disputes over "land and tenure."⁵² We assume that it was Roman crown land that Bar Kosiba had the audacity to release to the Jewish peasants. We also know of Roman veterans of the *Bellum Iudaicum* who received fertile plots of land.⁵³ But this does not mean that the entire rural population of Judaea — a rather large body of Jewish peasants — was a weak bunch of day-laborers, an exploited people without land, home, or means! One wonders how those scholars who name rural problems as the chief cause of the rebellion can explain the fact that these poor, dispossessed peasants of Judaea were able to start a revolt and to hold their own against the mighty Roman Empire for at least three full years. No, as said before, the economic conditions were favourable. There was no general "unrest" among the rural population. If there had been, the peasants would never have been able to maintain such a long war as they did.

Smallwood identifies *endemic nationalism*⁵⁴ as one of the reasons for the war. A nationalist feeling certainly existed after the *Bellum Iudaicum* and it might well have become epidemic in the course of the Bar Kokhba war. But it seems inconceivable to me that in 132 the Judaeans could be led to such a desperate action as open rebellion by nationalistic agitation alone without any provocation from the Romans.

In the first few lines of his report on the Great War, as preserved in Xiphilinus's excerpt, Dio Cassius gives two reasons for the war: the foundation — on the old site of Jerusalem — of Hadrian's own city, Aelia Capitolina, and the erection of a temple to Jupiter on the Jewish temple mount.⁵⁵ Dio chooses his words carefully, emphasizing that the emperor's forceful action was a personal and deliberate attack upon the Jews. How trustworthy is such a text? Let us consider two things: first, Jerusalem had been a Roman city for 62 years by this time, serving as the camp of the Tenth Legion and housing civilian annexes and

⁵² Cf. Applebaum, *Prolegomena* 10 ff.

⁵³ Cf. Applebaum, *Prolegomena* 9; Lifshitz *ANRW* II, 8, 469, 483.

⁵⁴ Smallwood, *JRR* 438.

⁵⁵ Dio's *Roman History*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge Mass. 1958) 446-447, book LXIX, 12-1.

Roman shrines; second, the emphasis upon the personal and deliberate character of the emperor's action may be due to Dio-Xiphilinus and may not, in fact, represent a true picture of the emperor's part in the affair. But the facts reported do fit completely Hadrian's great design of colonization and hellenization for the whole Roman East in the course of his long sojourn there around the year 130. On the other hand, do we have any evidence besides the literary tradition for the two-part action taken by the emperor at Jerusalem? No traces were found of Hadrian's temple.⁵⁶ Of course, he might have planned it, even though it was never realized. Only a statue of the emperor seems to have been erected. For the foundation of Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem, there is, however, strong numismatic evidence. Bronze coins with the legend *Aelia Capitolina*, struck in Jerusalem for Hadrian,⁵⁷ were found together with Bar Kokhba coins. These Aelia Capitolina coins bear the earliest form of the Latin legend used on Hadrianic coinage, namely, *Imp Caes Traiano Hadriano*, a legend impossible after the Bar Kokhba War at the end of his reign. Finally, there are other Aelia Capitolina coins with the same emperor's bust and the early legend *Imp Caesar Had Aug* but with the head of Sabina and the inscription *Sabina Augusta* (not *Diva Sabina*) on the reverse.⁵⁸ Sabina died and became *Diva* in 136, probably half a year after the end of the war. No historian seems to have grasped the full significance of the legends and types of these Aelia Capitolina coins, yet they do prove that Aelia Capitolina was founded before the war. Obviously, Hadrian did not realize — or did not want to realize — what Jerusalem meant to all Jews when he founded his Greco-Roman city and called it not Hadrianopolis nor Colonia Hadriana but Aelia Capitolina, thereby connecting the city with both his family, the Aelian gens, and with Jupiter Capitolinus!⁵⁹ Although this must have been most offensive to the Jews, it would not have been sufficient to seduce them to open rebellion.

⁵⁶ Cf. for the alleged Hadrianic temple and related questions G. W. Bowersock (above, n.35) 184 f sub VIII. The same author in "*A Roman Perspective on the Bar Kochba War*" in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. II, ed. W. S. Green: *Essays in Definition and Historical Description* (1980) stresses that Fronto, "*De Bello Parthico*," ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (1954) 2, p. 206 (. . . *quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?*) "gives us the Roman perspective." I hold that Fronto, mentioning the casualties, was yet aware of the differences in the nature, duration, course, and strategical importance of the British and Jewish revolts.

⁵⁷ Y. Meshorer (above, n.43) 93; idem, apud Lifshitz *ANRW* II, 8, p. 481.

⁵⁸ L. Kadman, "The Coins of Aelia Capitolina," *Corpus Nummorum Palaestinae* I (Jerusalem 1956) n.7.

⁵⁹ Smallwood, *JRR* 434.

The real cause must have cut deeper into the heart of the Jews. What was the aim, the goal, of this man Shim'on ben Kosiba who organized a revolt against the Roman Empire during one of its most powerful periods and under the rule of one of its greatest emperors? Was he a hero, or a reckless fool who tried the impossible and brought nothing but blood and tears?

In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae-Vita Hadriani* 14,2 we read: *Moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia*. After E. Mary Smallwood's *Latomus* article of 1959, entitled "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius against Circumcision,"⁶⁰ no one should have doubted that Hadrian's ban on circumcision was the major cause of the war.⁶¹ Domitian had already banned castration, but Hadrian went much further. He placed circumcision under the *Lex Cornelia*, which means that he had it classified and prosecuted on the level of murder. He thus made circumcision equal to castration and in doing so he delivered a death blow to Jewish life. And this was the reason why Akiba joined forces with the rebels. Hadrian's decree was intended as an universal ban against a custom which, to his mind, was most objectionable. It was not meant to be a punishment of the Jews after the war, for not only the Jews but many people in the East practiced circumcision. Indeed, we know when circumcision was again permitted to the Jewish people under the reign of Antoninus Pius, it was as an exemption from the universal ban which remained in force for all non-Jews. For Hadrian, circumcision was a barbarous mutilation, for Bar Kosiba it was the essence of Jewish life. Hadrian wanted to extend Greek culture to all parts of his well-organized Empire under the *Pax Romana*. Bar Kosiba wanted to remain a Jew in Judaea. The clash was inevitable. Both had a cause. But what was a matter of policy for the emperor was a question of life or death for the Jew.⁶²

In conclusion, the Bar Kokhba coins, letters, and documents are valuable historical sources for the history of the rebellion and the

⁶⁰ *Latomus* 18 (1959) 334-347 and 20 (1961) 9396. Cf. Smallwood, *JRR* 426-431, a forceful, up-to-date summary of her pioneer studies. I join the scholars rejecting the view expressed by H. Mantel in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 18.3 (January 1968), postscript, that "the Bar-Kokhba revolt was a spontaneous uprising against Roman rule and not a reaction to religious persecution."

⁶¹ G. W. Bowersock (above, n.35) 185: "principal and immediate cause."

⁶² M. D. Herr in a Hebrew article, "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba War," *Zion* 43.1-2 (Jerusalem 1978) 1-11, accepts circumcision as the "main (or even the sole) cause" (English summary). Herr's essay reached me only in May 1979, thus after my Loeb Lecture on April 5, 1979.

nature and deeds of the man who led the Jews through the pain and suffering of these years of war. Yet, many problems remain unsolved. What was the course of the war, the internal chronology? Why is Jerusalem never mentioned in the documents? Who was the Priest Eleazar? Why does the name of the leading rabbi, Akiba ben Joseph, never appear in the Bar Kokhba letters and documents? There is no answer to these questions now, but there remains hope that one or another will find an answer in the not-too-distant future.

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SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

DAVID PAYNE KUBIAK — *Cicero, Catullus, and the Art of Neoteric Translation*

SCHOLARS have pointed out that the poetry of Cicero, so often characterized in its entirety by one unfortunate line, should not be seen as a unified whole, but rather as a *corpus* varied both in content and style, reflecting an author of changing interests and aesthetic purpose. Cicero's early verse is of particular importance to literary history, because the titles and fragments preserved refer to poetic forms and mythological subject matter that have their origin in the Hellenistic Greek tradition. The translation of Aratus, done around 90 B.C., is the primary achievement of this early period, an exercise that would secure Cicero's mastery of the hexameter meter, and make him the first to introduce into Latin an important Hellenistic author, one appreciated in antiquity for the prized quality of *λεπτότης*.

It was, of course, devotion to Hellenistic Greek literature that chiefly inspired the neoteric movement in the mid-first century, when technical exercises in the translation of nondramatic authors achieved new prominence. An earlier attempt at this kind of poetry cannot have failed to merit the attention of Catullus and his friends, poets whose training involved the study of Latin models no less than Greek.

This thesis, which consists of five chapters and an appendix, uses detailed philological analysis in revealing what might aptly be termed the "proto-neoteric" qualities of Cicero's *Aratea*, and then considers the resonance of those qualities in the two translations of Catullus from Sappho (51) and Callimachus (66).

The first two chapters provide a general introduction to the literary questions involved and to the significance of Cicero's early poetry. Chapter III contains two studies in the *Aratea*, the first devoted to those passages in which Cicero has taken the characteristic second person address of Aratus and applied it to places where it does not appear in the original. These passages give evidence in Latin for an important Greek apostrophizing style, and at the same time provide the opportunity for observing Cicero's method in representative places

throughout the translation. The influence of Ennius is apparent, as indeed it must be in hexameter poetry of this period, but the lines studied show Cicero contriving arrangements of words, rhetorical figures, and metrical patterns that demonstrate equally his interest in bringing to Latin refinements of style associated with Hellenistic Greek literature.

The second study of Chapter III is a discussion of the Orion episode of the *Aratea*, lines 418 to 435 of the long fragment. Of primary importance is Cicero's major expansion of the original, often by lines and phrases that reflect other texts, both Greek and Latin, and so attest to the poet's learning and taste. Also noteworthy are certain thematic and linguistic details that give the Orion episode a stylistic affinity with the genre that would flourish later in the century as the neoteric epyllion.

Chapter IV turns to the translations of Catullus. The romantic interpretation of 51 is rejected, and the poem is rather seen as a typical example of neoteric experimentation with the revival of old metrical forms. The importance of the *Aratea* lies in its providing precedents for the artful interplay of additions to and subtractions from a Greek original, precedents that give support to considering the final strophe of 51 an integral part of the poem. The second half of Chapter IV treats selected parts of Catullus 66. Here not only a similarity in the poet's attitude towards his original, but specific verbal parallels involving celestial vocabulary point to Catullus' knowledge and use of the *Aratea*.

The concluding chapter recapitulates the main themes of the thesis: in the *Aratea* Cicero presents suggestions and anticipations of a style of poetry that came to fruition in the consciously neoteric translations of Catullus.

An appendix is then devoted to the section from a letter of Cicero to Atticus (7.2.1.) in which the orator pens a spondaic hexameter and commends it to the νεώτεροι. This passage can no longer be adduced as evidence of Cicero's contempt for the style of poetry he parodies, and modern critics are right in regarding it as containing a humorous use of the technical language of Aristarchean scholarship. The reference cannot, however, be limited to hexameter poetry: Aristarchus and his school applied the adjective νεώτερος to a large group of post-Homeric authors writing in many different genres, making it possible for Cicero to use a hexameter line in illustrating the Latin "new" poetry without suggesting that other types of verse could not be so described.

JEFFREY S. RUSTEN — *The Argonauts of Dionysius Scytobrachion*

The mythographer Dionysius, who in antiquity received (for reasons no longer known) the epithet *Scytobrachion*, that is, "Leather-arm," is primarily known as the source of several sections of the universal history of Diodorus: 3.52–61 and 66.4–74.1 on the Amazons, a tribe called the Ἀτλάντιοι and Dionysus (all of whom Dionysius placed in Libya) and 4.40–55 on the Argonauts. These and other fragments of Dionysius' work (many of them from the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes) have been collected by Jacoby in *FGrHist* 32. This dissertation examines three texts on papyrus which can be identified as new fragments of Dionysius' *Argonauts*. Since one of these papyri is older by a century than the date commonly assigned to that author, the entire ancient tradition on Dionysius Scytobrachion is subjected to a new examination as well.

Studies by several scholars (in particular the work of Erich Bethe) have elucidated the nature of Dionysius' *Argonauts* and the manner in which it was followed in Diodorus' condensed, but basically reliable, epitome. Scytobrachion was not a scholarly collector of variant myths, but a storyteller influenced by two trends in popular philosophy, Euhemerism and rationalism; he sought to reinterpret the myths of the poets accordingly. The variant versions of the Argonauts' adventures which occur in Diodorus do not belong to the *Argonauts*, but were added by Diodorus himself from another source, a mythological handbook used also in Pseudo-Apollodorus, Hyginus, and other mythographic works.

On the basis of this knowledge it is possible to identify as new fragments of the *Argonauts* the following texts on papyrus:

P. Hibeh 2.186, a prose account of the Argonauts in Colchis in which Heracles is included, as he was by Dionysius (*FGrHist* 32 F 6). That the papyrus is a manuscript of Dionysius' *Argonauts* is however proved by the occurrence there of that author's rationalistic explanation of the fire-breathing bulls (Diod. 4.47 = *FGrHist* 32 F 14; in col. 4 line 8 of the papyrus read Τάυροι). The text can be dated on the basis of its hand and the circumstances of its acquisition to c. 250–220 B.C.

P. Oxy. XXXVII.2812, a commentary on an (unidentified) tragedy. In col. II lines 1–36 preserve in paraphrase a section of the work *On the Gods* by Apollodorus of Athens, in which the two versions of the construction of the walls of Troy (*Il.* 7.452–453, 21.446 ff) were evaluated according to the relevant epithets of Poseidon and Apollo (cf. *FGrHist*

244 F 96; Apollodorus appears to have supported the Aristarchean athetesis of *Il.* 7.443–464). Apollodorus normally quoted verbatim from texts later than Homer to illustrate his discussions, and two such quotations are preserved in the papyrus: (1) twelve verses from Nicander on the story of Laocoon, and (2) a prose excerpt from a certain Dionysius. In the latter passage can be seen the original of part of the *Argonauts* (cf. Diod. 4.49.3 = *FGrHist* 32 F 14). It should be no surprise that Apollodorus quotes Dionysius Scytobrachion; Carl Wendel had already postulated that Apollodorus was the source of the citations from the *Argonauts* in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes.

P. Mich. inv. 1316 verso (previously unpublished), containing mythographic and literary comments on an Argonaut story. Dionysius' account of the Argonauts' rescue of Hesione (cf. Diod. 4.42 = *FGrHist* 32 F 14) is referred to in lines 5–8.

The evidence of these new fragments can contribute to the solution of several problems in the testimonia on Dionysius, for example, the twin ethnics (Mytilenean and Milesian) assigned to him in the scholia to Apollonius; a textual corruption is unlikely here, and the application of two ethnics to a single author in the same source has led to the improbable (but generally accepted) conclusion that a Dionysius of Mytilene invented a Milesian namesake as a false "source" for his stories. It is however more reasonable to assume that the earliest versions of these citations omitted Dionysius' ethnic (as do the papyri), and that both the correct "Mytilenean" and the incorrect "Milesian" were added by later reworkers of the scholia, just as false ethnics have occasionally been added to the ascriptions of poems in the Greek Anthology. The book numbers found in several citations in these scholia are equally suspect.

In addition to his works on the Argonauts and Libyan myths Dionysius is said to have composed *Τρωικά* and *Μυθικά*, of which, however, no substantial fragments have survived. According to Artemon of Cassandrea *ap.* Athenaeus 12.515DE (= *FGrHist* 32 T 6), Dionysius forged part or all of Xanthus' *Λυδιακά*; even though this charge cannot be explained, there is no evidence to support it, and Athenaeus himself is probably right in rejecting it.

P. Hibeh 2.186 reveals the shaky foundation on which previous attempts to date Scytobrachion had rested; a subtle interpretation of a phrase in Suetonius (*De grammaticis* 7 = *FGrHist* 32 T 2) had been thought to imply that he lived in the late 2nd century B.C. The papyrus now shows that his works were composed in the mid-third century,

and this date is supported by the internal evidence of his works as well, which has hitherto remained unexamined. An apparent reference to the Ptolemaic cult of the *Θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* (Diod. 3.57.5 = *FGrHist* 32 F 7) provides a *terminus post quem* of ca. 270 B.C., and the *terminus ante quem* of the papyrus is roughly 220 B.C.

Finally the *Argonauts* itself, as reconstructed from Diodorus, the papyri, and the scholia to Apollonius, can be seen to be a Hellenistic prose work of no small merit. Dionysius employed the rationalistic method of reinterpreting myths, which had been used by historians since Hecataeus, to place his story on a human level. By offering innovative versions of the route of the Argonauts and assigning new roles to Heracles and Medea he brought to the fore the contrast between the civilized and humane (Heracles and Medea) and uncivilized and cruel (Aietes, Laomedon, Phineus) figures in the story. The Argonauts' glory consists in overcoming a series of inhuman tyrants and establishing just rulers in barbarian lands.

An unnoticed reference to Scytobrachion's account of the Libyan Dionysus (*FGrHist* 244 [Apollodorus] F 157a, cf. Diod. 3.68.4–70.2 = *FGrHist* 32 F 8) and some insertions by Diodorus into his epitome of the *Argonauts* are discussed in two appendices.

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